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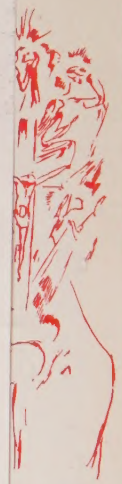
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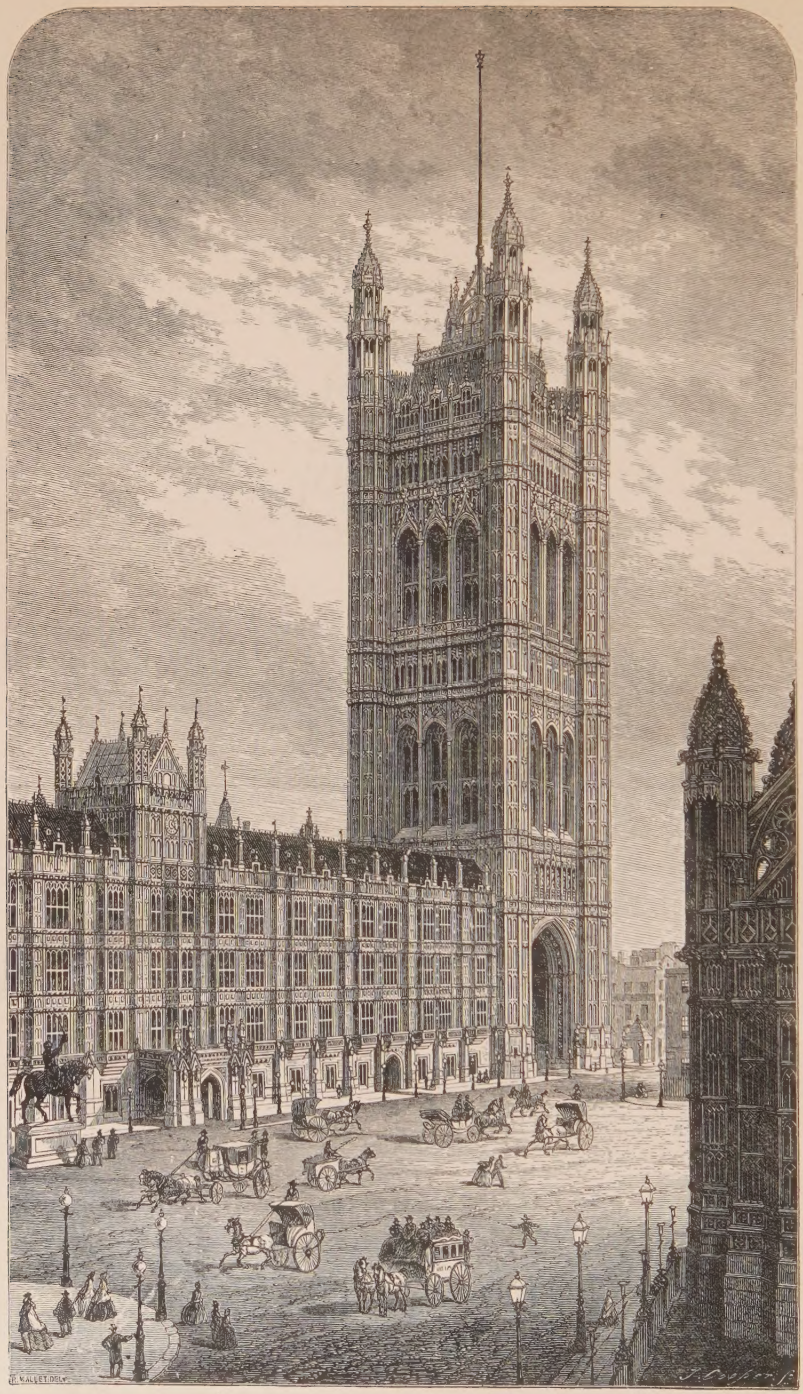


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VOL. II.



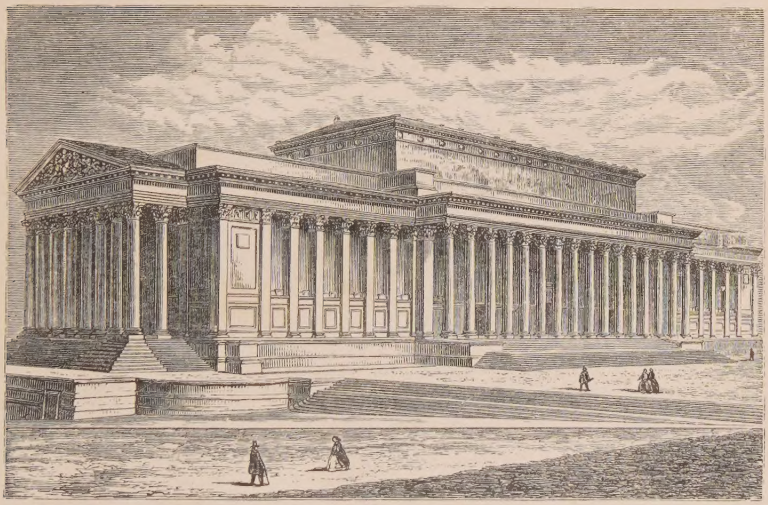
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HISTORY

OF THE

MODERN STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE:

By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.



St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

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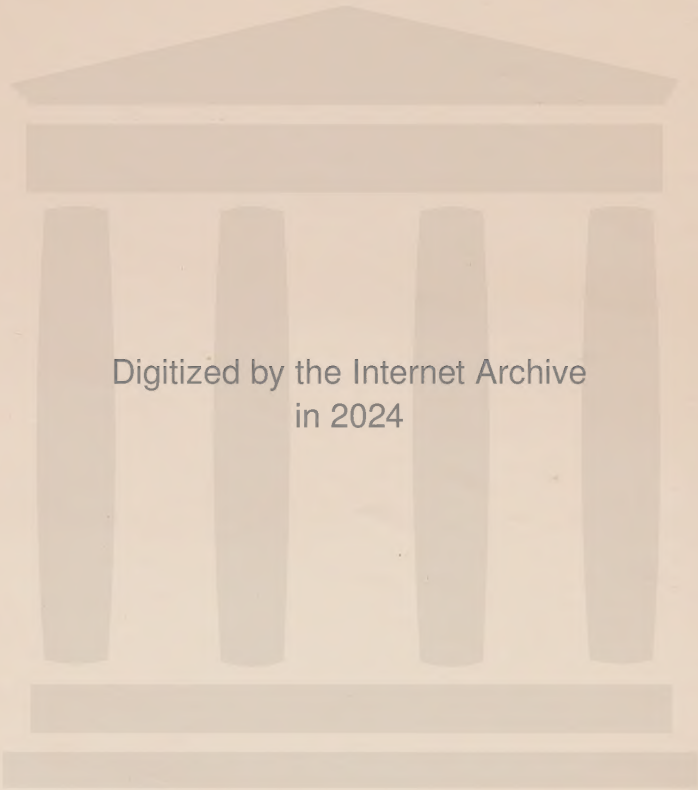
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HISTORY OF THE MODERN STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE.

BOOK IV.

ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

To write a consecutive history of the Renaissance styles in Great Britain is perhaps more difficult than it is with regard to those of any other country of Europe. Not because the examples are few or far between, nor because they have not been examined with care or published in detail; but on account of the devious and uncertain path their architects have followed, and the general absence of any fixed principles to guide them in their design, or any certain aim to which they were persistently striving to attain. The difficulty is further aggravated at present by the architectural world being divided into two hostile camps—the Classical and the Mediæval—following two entirely different systems of design and actuated by antagonistic principles. It becomes in consequence difficult to write calmly and dispassionately in the midst of the clamour of contending parties, and not to be hurried into opposition by the unreasoning theories that are propounded on both sides.

The steps by which the English were induced to adopt the Classical styles were slower and more uncertain than those which preceded its introduction into the other countries of western Europe. They clung longer to their Gothic feelings, and submitted to the trammels of Classical Art far more unwillingly than their neighbours. It is, in fact, almost literally true that Inigo Jones[1] was the earliest really Classical architect in England, and he was born the year before Vignola died, and was only three years old when Palladio finished his

[1] Born 1572; died 1652.

career. The foundations of St. Peter's were laid a full century before we had a Classical building of any kind in this country; and the Escurial and the Tuileries had been long inhabited before we thought it necessary to try to rival them.

The teaching, however, of Classical literature in our schools, and the example of the Continent, at last took effect. And when once an architect presented himself capable of producing designs in the new style, and exhibiting specimens in all their fashionable proportions, it became the rage with us, as it was on the Continent; and our ancestors out-Heroded Herod in the strict classicality of their useless porticoes and the purity with which they used the Orders, wholly irrespective either of climate or situation: all this being only too sure a proof how little true feeling they at that time had for Art, and how completely they had lost the knowledge of the first principles that ought to guide an architect in the preparation of his designs.

In England, as in all other countries of modern Europe, the arts followed in the same track as literature, only that here they lagged more behind, and Classical forms and feelings are found in all our literary productions long before their influence was felt in Art. When once, however, Architecture fell fairly into the trap, she became more enslaved to the rules of the dead art than literature ever was, and has hitherto found it impossible to recover her liberty, while her now emancipated sister roams at large exulting in her freedom. Still, it is impossible to read such a poem as Spenser's 'Faery Queen,' and not to see that it is the expression of exactly the same feelings as those which dictated such designs as Audley End or Wollaton. The one is a Christian Romance of the Middle Ages, interlarded with Classical names and ill-understood allusions to heathen gods and goddesses—the others are Gothic palaces, plastered over with Corinthian pilasters and details which represent the extent of knowledge to which men of taste had then reached in realising the greatness of Roman Art.

It would be difficult to find two works of Art designed more essentially on the same principles than Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral. The Bible narrative, transposed into the form of a Greek epic, required the genius of a Milton to make it tolerable; but the splendour of even his powers does not make us less regret that he had not poured forth the poetry with which his heart was swelling in some form that would have freed him from the trammels which the pedantry of his age imposed upon him. What the Iliad and the Æneid were to Milton, the Pantheon and the Temple of Peace were to Wren. It was necessary he should try to conceal his Christian church in the guise of a Roman temple. Still the idea of the Christian cathedral is always present, and reappears in every form, but so, too, does that of the Heathen temple;—two conflicting elements in contact,—neither subduing the other, but making their

discord so apparent as to destroy to a very considerable extent the beauty either would possess if separate.

The sonorous prose of Johnson finds its exact counterpart in the ponderous productions of Vanbrugh, and the elegant Addison finds his reflex in the correct tameness of Chambers. The Adamses tried to reproduce what they thought was purely Classical Art, with the earnest faith with which Thomson believed he was reproducing Virgil's Georgics when he wrote the 'Seasons.' But here our parallel ends. The poets had exhausted every form of imitation, and longed for "fresh fields and pastures new," and in the beginning of this century wholly freed themselves from the chains their predecessors had prided themselves in wearing; but, just when the architects might have done the same, Stuart practically discovered and revealed to his countrymen the beauties of Greek Art. Homer and Sophocles had long been familiar to us;—the Parthenon and the Temple on the Ilissus were new. The poets had had the distemper; the architects had still to pass through it; and for fifty long years the pillars of the Parthenon or the Ilissian Temple adorned churches and gaols, museums and magazines, shop fronts and city gates—everything and everywhere. At last a reaction set in against this absurdity; not, alas! towards freedom, but towards a bondage as deep, if not so degrading, as that from which the enslaved minds of the public had just been emancipated. If the Greek was incongruous, it was at least elegant and refined. The Gothic, though so beautiful in itself, is hardly more in accordance with the feelings and tastes of the nineteenth century, and is entirely deficient in that purity and in the higher elements of the Art to which the Greeks had attained, and to which we were fast approaching when the flood-tide of pseudo-Mediæval Art set in and overwhelmed us.

At the same time, however, we must not overlook the fact that the Gothic revival in this country is mainly an ecclesiastical movement, and the real hold it has upon the people arises from their religious, not from their artistic feelings, and must be judged of accordingly. The four centuries which elapsed between the Crusades and the Reformation were not only the period of the Church's greatest ascendency and glory, but they were those during which the Gothic style was invented and prevailed. All of our cathedrals but one, and nine-tenths of our churches in towns, ninety-nine in a hundred in country parishes, are in this style. The clergy, no doubt, look back with regret to those halcyon days when their power was supreme and undisputed, and, while longing to bring them back again, are justified in pleading that the style in which those churches were built, in which our forefathers prayed, and which are associated with all our own religious feelings, is that style in which all ecclesiastical edifices, at least, should still be erected. If the Church of the present day is

the same as that of the thirteenth century, they are right. But if the world has progressed since then, it is dangerous that the Church should lag so long behind, and nearly certain that the laity will not long be content with so retrograde a movement. Should this prove to be the case, the result will be that we shall have two antagonistic styles of Art in this country: one ecclesiastical and retrograde, the other lay and progressive, and a conflict may arise which must confuse all true principles of Art and prove fatal to any proper development of either style.

The truth is, it requires very little knowledge of Art to know that both Classic and Gothic imitations must be wrong:—that any Art which is essentially false in its principles, and which depends on mere copying and not on thought for its effect, must be an absurdity. But the public do not see this, and the instance of literature does not appear to them quite a logical parallel. Nor is it;—for with us a poem is a plaything. It does not cost more to print one moulded on the Greek Epos than it does one modelled after Dante, or one which is merely the outpouring of a heart too full to contain its imaginings. No one need buy unless they like it, and many live and die without giving the subject a serious thought, or caring for literature at all, excepting at the utmost as the amusement of a passing hour. But the case is widely different when we come to an art, the productions of which are not only ornamental, but useful at the same time, and indeed indispensable to our existence, in this climate at least. From the highest to the lowest all men must spend money in the production of Architectural Art. Our comfort and our convenience are affected by it every day of our lives; our health, and not infrequently our wealth, is at the mercy of the architect. Though we could tolerate and be amused with a poem which is an almost undetectable forgery, we cannot live in a temple or a cathedral, and the gloom of a feudal castle and the arrangements of a monastery are equally foreign to our taste. It is, no doubt, easier to employ a clerk to copy details out of books than to set oneself to invent them; and it is a great relief to timid minds to be able to shelter themselves under the shield of authority; but laziness or timidity is not the quality that ever produced anything great or good in Art; and till men are prepared to work and think for themselves, the study of Architecture in England, though it may be interesting as a psychological or historical problem, can never rise to the dignity of an illustration of that noble art.

Only one other point requires to be noticed before going into detail on English Renaissance Art. It was hinted in the Introduction to this volume that, during the period of the Renaissance, Architecture ceased to be a study among the upper classes, and generally became the occupation of a very small, and frequently a lower and less educated,

class of men than those who occupied themselves with literature. This is, perhaps, more strictly applicable to England than to any other country. Not to be a scholar to a greater or less extent has always been a reproach to an English gentleman. To be an artist, on the other hand, is to be eccentric and exceptional among the upper classes; and proficiency in Art is almost as great a reproach to a gentleman as deficiency in literary knowledge is and always has been.

This was more or less the case with all the nations of the Continent, but was more apparent in England than elsewhere. It has been remarked above that, during the Middle Ages, not only the nobility and gentry occupied themselves with Art, but that the bishops, and all classes of the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, looked upon Architecture as the master art, and considered a knowledge of it as being as indispensable to an educated gentleman as a knowledge of Latin is now. When, however, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, learning became more generally diffused, and a knowledge of the classics indispensable, the Arts ceased to be part of a gentleman's education; and this has continued so till a very recent date indeed, though connoisseurship might occasionally be considered fashionable. Such knowledge of any art as might enable a gentleman to practise it in the same manner as he might write verses or compose an essay was wholly unthought of. Architecture was first relegated to builders, whose only business it was to produce the greatest extent of accommodation, and the greatest amount of effect, compatible with the least possible price. When by this process it had sunk into the abyss of Jacobean art, it was rescued from this depth of degradation, and taken up by a higher and better class of minds, but always has been followed as a trade or profession for the sake of its pecuniary emoluments; and, with the rarest possible exceptions, never practised from a mere love of the art, or from an innate desire to produce beauty. Nor are the architects to blame for this. A poet or painter can realise his dreams at his own cost, and give them to the public as he creates them. An architect cannot work without a patron; and when the upper classes are not imbued with a love of Art, and have not the knowledge sufficient to enable them to appreciate the beautiful, the architect must be content to stereotype the taste of his employers, or to starve. When the taste of the public in Architecture is as low or as mistaken as it has long been, the highest class of minds will not devote themselves to it; and till they do so, and, far more than this, till the public thoroughly appreciate its importance, and master its essential principles, the art will certainly never recover the position it occupied during the Middle Ages, still less that which it occupied in Egypt or in Greece.

[The Renaissance in England.—In its general scope this introductory chapter is, like all our author's writings, signalised by sound sense and clever generalisation; but there are portions of it

which, although in their very excess of earnestness they cannot but set the reader thinking to advantage, must nowadays be accepted only subject to further explanation. One view of the way in which the Revived Classic of Italy was introduced into England, with what measure of success it eventually obtained, is this. King Charles the First was on the throne when Inigo Jones brought over the new style. His so-called Banqueting House at Whitehall is familiar to everyone (Plate 165); and it is well understood that it was built as part of an intended great palace for the sovereign (Plates 163 and 164). A more promising beginning for the English Renaissance could scarcely have been designed. But politics interfered. The story of the conflict of principle between the king and the people need not be told here. The king and his principles passed to extinction from one of the windows of that very Banqueting House; and the graces incidental to monarchy gave place to the grim puritanism of a fanatical democracy, with which such a thing as Architectural Art could find no favour at all. Time wore on dismally enough; and when at length the amenities of life came to the front again under the ægis of a new monarchy—bad as it was—it need scarcely be said that the supply of architectural skill in a country so isolated from the rest of Europe was very limited indeed, even if the demand had not been equally small. But a greater demand unexpectedly arose; London was to a large extent suddenly destroyed by fire. The cathedral and a crowd of other ancient churches were in ruins. Who was to rebuild them? The citizens speedily rebuilt their warehouses and dwellings; and fortunately they saw their way to find the money for new churches and a new cathedral; but what about architects? It is very much to the credit of the national sense of pride in the proprieties that good art seems to have been insisted upon by those who were able to speak for the people at large. But it is quite clear that there were no professional architects to be had of such standing and reputation as to claim the public confidence; and an amateur came forward. This was Dr. Wren, a scientific scholar of some distinction, who—strangely enough—was possessed of a most remarkable aptitude for architectural design, which for many years he had made a hobby. Through the advantages of his scientific and social connection (he was the nephew of an unconquerable old bishop who had withstood the Puritan authorities with unexampled vigour, and was now at last triumphant), combined with his artistic knowledge and mechanical skill, he succeeded, as everyone knows, in so speedily and so successfully commanding recognition as a practical architect, that (as our author truly says), "no building of importance was erected during the last forty years of the seventeenth century of which he was not the architect." The results of his labours are still amongst the most cherished examples of English building; men of great ability followed him; and this is the story of the advent of Renaissance

architecture in England. To what extent and in what particular manner this very peculiar process of origination affected at the time, or still affects, the artistic merits of modern English architecture as a whole, is one of the most interesting problems of historical criticism. That Wren must have been endowed by nature with artistic architectural genius of an unusually high order seems to be certain; for the graceful proportions of his designs are acknowledged by all masters of the art; but how far his want of original training may have been responsible for the establishment, by the aid of his scientific ingenuity, of that practice of counterfeit construction, so very notable in St. Paul's, which has ever since been the bane of our national architecture, is a question which it is difficult to evade.

It seems to be our author's opinion that in the Middle Ages every ecclesiastic of any position was instructed in Architecture, and that many laymen of rank took almost an equal interest in it. He also appears to suggest that since the age of Elizabeth the practice of the art has fallen into the inferior hands of mere craftsmen, who follow it "as a trade or profession, for the sake of its pecuniary emoluments," to the degradation of its dignity. Here the most intelligent and experienced class of his readers will certainly not be able to agree with him. It is not possible that the design of the great Mediæval cathedrals, or their construction, could in any degree have been the handiwork of mere theological dignitaries—who had quite enough to do, then as now, to carry on their own professional duties and to further their own advancement—although no doubt the practical architect may have frequently been found in the cloister. Neither is there any evidence to show that the amateur in the Middle Ages was any more helpful in the architect's practical work than he is in our own day. The artistic design of a building is, and always has been, an intellectual operation of such a high character that nothing short of special training can by any means achieve success; and this indisputable fact furnishes the *raison d'être*, not for the architectural profession alone, but for the whole group of the professions which surround it. The condition of culture must be low indeed in these days wherever the person who is "his own architect" has not a very great fool for his client.—Ed.]

CHAPTER I.

TRANSITION STYLE.

Elizabeth 1558. James I. 1603.

To begin this chapter, as we have begun all previous ones, by treating of Ecclesiastical Architecture first, would be plunging too much *in medias res*, inasmuch as in England no church was erected of the smallest pretension to architectural design between the Reformation and the Great Fire of London in 1666, with the solitary exception of the small church in Covent Garden erected by Inigo Jones in 1631. The fact is, that the Catholics of the Middle Ages had left us an inheritance of churches more than doubly sufficient for the wants of the Reformed communities which succeeded them; and it is only now, when the demand for church accommodation has overtaken the supply, that we should be glad if many of those which, in Elizabeth's time, were deserted and left to fall to ruin, could be reappropriated to their original purposes. In the earlier part of the Renaissance period this was so entirely the case, that but for the Fire of London, in 1666, we should be obliged to wait till some time in the eighteenth century before we could find any churches worthy of notice in an architectural history.

[The Dignity of Ecclesiastical Art.—The reason why in all Architectural history the leading position has to be assigned to Religious Art, ought to be appreciated as a point of criticism. What the world may come to when a great many more generations of scientific thinkers have had their way with it, is a question not to be answered; and how far human nature exhibits strength or weakness in matters of its sentimental beliefs or ceremonial observances need not be discussed: but the fact certainly is that up to the present date no nation of any importance or any approximation to culture has ever existed without manifesting that special reverence for ideas of the divine, of whatever order, which leads to the employment of monumental building in the form of temples of worship. In other words, the construction of religious edifices has invariably claimed primary attention, and this from the earliest beginnings down to the latest developments of human enterprise. The fact is perhaps the more remarkable when it is considered that such structures have always been devoid of utilitarian service; but it is this perfect

independence of ordinary purposes which so much accentuates the monumental principle. The temple is not in any way a house for humanity; it is a shrine for divinity. The most powerful conqueror, the most arbitrary governor, the most wealthy and the most proud, all enter it in awe. It is the House of Deity; and, even if the Priest be disavowed, the Deity remains. The church, therefore, claims everywhere to be regarded as a monument, and not a house. It follows that Art shall be specially employed to render more monumental, most monumental according to circumstances, an edifice of this character; and consecrated building brings with it consecrated Art. In our own somewhat prosaic times all this remains true; and even in the brand new cities of America the brand new churches are still the local monuments. The Religious Art of modern as of ancient communities is necessarily therefore a thing apart from Secular Art, and standing on higher ground. Amongst other considerations, it is on this basis that the Gothic Revival was able to take such a firm hold upon the public mind in England with reference to ecclesiastical work, while it so entirely failed in secular. There is no rule, however, without its exceptions, and there have been certain religious sects with whom, as an article of faith, it has been held that all religious art is a snare. This attitude is of course a mere reaction from the otherwise universal custom, and it has never acquired any serious significance; the instincts of humanity have been against it. It is to be particularly remarked at the present day that what used to be called the "Meeting-houses" of the Puritan bodies in England are in almost all cases being designed and more or less embellished on the same model as the churches. Even the worshippers whose boast it is almost fanatically to denounce the insignia of the Ages of Faith can bow their heads in uninquiring reverence before the same symbols of superstition when these are only the accepted ornaments of a temple of their own.—ED.]

Though the examples of Secular Art are infinitely more numerous and important in this early period, it is extremely difficult to fix a date when Classical details or Classical feelings first began to prevail. It certainly was not in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, though she ascended the throne in 1558, only six years before Michael Angelo's death. Leicester's buildings at Kenilworth, and her own at Windsor—wherever, in fact, English architects were employed—show signs of deviation from the purer Gothic types, but nothing to indicate the direction in which Art was tending; and it is probable that, after all, the first introduction of the style is really to be ascribed to two foreigners. One of these, Giovanni di Padua, it is said, was employed at Longleat and Holmby, and seems to have been induced to visit this country by Henry VIII., though whether as an architect or in any other capacity is not quite clear. The other, Theodore Have or Havenius of Cleves, was the architect of Caius College, Cambridge, erected between the years 1565



154. Gate of Honour, Caius College, Cambridge. From a Photograph.

and 1574, which is certainly the most complete specimen of Classical Art which was at that time to be seen in England.

The buildings of the College itself are generally in Elizabethan Gothic, with only the very smallest possible taint of Classicality; but the gateways are adorned with Classical details to an extent very unusual in that age. The principal and most beautiful is the Gate of Honour, erected in 1574, and is one of the most pleasing as well as one of the most advanced specimens of the early Renaissance in England. Although its arch is slightly pointed, and the details far from being pure, the general design is very perfect. Owing to its greater height and variety of outline, it groups much more pleasingly with modern buildings than many of the more purely Classical Triumphal arches which since that time have adorned most of the capital cities of Europe. There are some other parts of the College, also, which show details of the same class, though not so complete in style as this.

There are besides this several very pleasing specimens of Renaissance Art at Cambridge, and some also at Oxford—though more at the former, which seems at that period to have had an accession of prosperity which

enabled her to overtake in a great degree her richer and more venerable rival. The Chapel, especially the west front, of St. Peter's College is one of the best specimens of the art at Cambridge, but perhaps the most pleasing is the quadrangle of Clare College, which exhibits the English Domestic Architecture of that age with more purity and grace than almost any other example that can be named. The older buildings seem to have been burnt down in 1525, but no steps were taken to rebuild them till more than a century afterwards, in 1638, when the present quadrangle was commenced. It is internally 150 ft. long by 111 ft. broad. Though strongly marked horizontal lines prevail everywhere, the vertical mode of accentuation is also preserved, and both are found here in exactly those proportions which indicate the interior arrangements; and the size and decoration of the windows are also in good taste and in perfect keeping with the destination of the building.



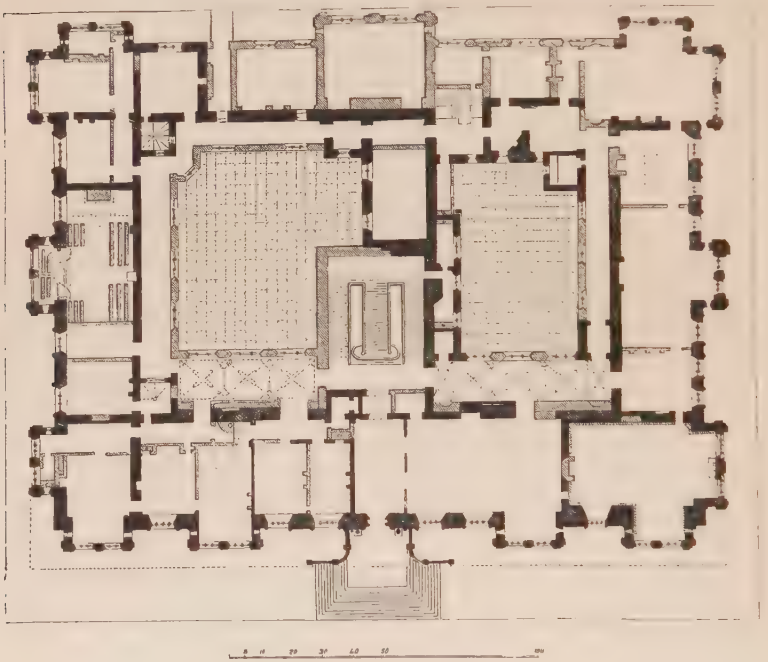
155. Court of Clare College. From Pugin's 'Memorials of Cambridge.'

Another pleasing example is to be found in the north and south fronts of Neville's Court in Trinity College, which were nearly completed when their founder died, in 1615. They are partially shown in Woodcut No. 181, further on. Though the upper storeys are not so varied or so effectively broken as those of Clare, the arcade below is a very pleasing feature, rarely found in English, though so common in Italian and Spanish buildings of an earlier age.

At Oxford the most admired example of this age is the Garden-front of St. John's College, ascribed to Inigo Jones. It was commenced in 1631, and finished in four years; but so essentially Gothic are all its details, that it requires careful scrutiny and no small knowledge of style to feel assured that it does not belong to the Tudor period. The front of the building, however, towards the courtyard tells the story of its age much more clearly, being slightly more advanced than the buildings in Neville's Court, Cambridge, just alluded to. Its details are similar, though on a smaller scale, to those of the Hospital at Milan (Woodcut No. 75), the Castle at Toledo, and the house of Agnes Sorel at Orleans (Woodcut No. 122), though only introduced into England a century

after they had been used on the continent of Europe, and then almost furtively, being confined to courtyards and interiors, while the exterior of the building was assimilated to the older and more truly English forms of Art.

A more celebrated example is the Gateway of the Schools at Oxford, designed by an architect of the name of Thomas Holt, and erected about 1612. The whole of the rest of the quadrangle— the erection of which is due to the munificence of Sir Thomas Bodley—is of the debased Gothic



156. Plan of Longleat House.[1] From Britton.[2]

of the age ;[3] but, as at St. John's, an example of the Classical taste then coming into vogue is introduced internally. The portal is in consequence decorated with the five Orders piled one over the other in the usual succession, according to the Vitruvian precept ; the lowest being Tuscan, the next Doric, over that comes the Ionic Order, and then the Corinthian. The Composite finishes this part of the design, but the whole is crowned by Gothic pinnacles, and other relics of the expiring style. Besides these, the whole design is mixed up with details of the utmost impurity and grotesqueness, making up a whole more to be admired for its

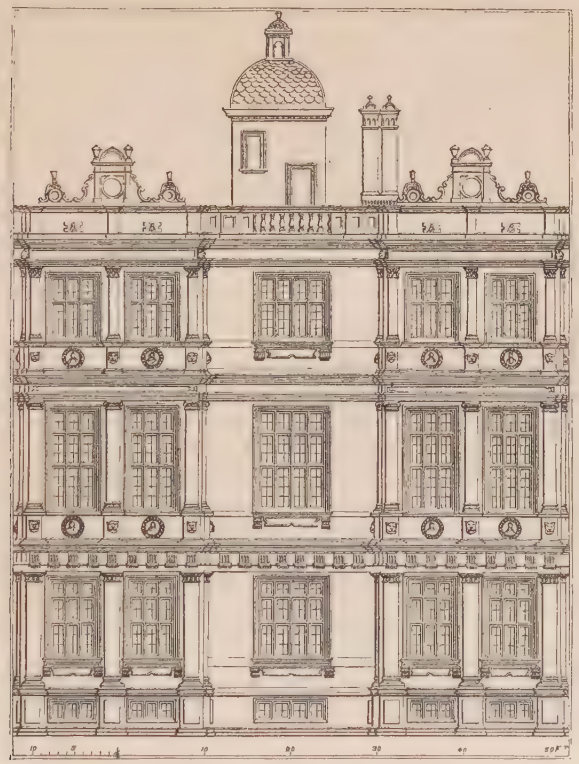
[1] The parts shaded light are recent additions or alterations.

[2] 'The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,' 5 vols. 4to. London, 1827.

[3] The work seems to have extended from 1610 to 1640.

picturesqueness and curiosity than for any beauty it possesses either in design or detail.

Longleat, built between the years 1567 and 1579, is one of the largest as well as one of the most beautiful palaces in England of that day. As before mentioned, the original design was probably due to John of Padua, which would account for the far greater purity that pervades its Classical details than is to be found in the Colleges just mentioned, or in most of the buildings of this age. The accounts of the building,



157. Elevation of part of Longleat. From Britton's 'Architectural Antiquities.'

however, which are still preserved at Longleat, show that Robert Smithson, who afterwards built Wollaton, was employed as "Free master mason" during the whole time it was in course of erection. Its front measures 220 ft., its flanks 164, so that it covers about the same ground as the Farnese Palace at Rome, though both in height and in other dimensions it is very much inferior. It consists of three storeys, each ornamented with an Order,—each of which tapers gradually from the lowest to the summit in a very pleasing manner, the details throughout being elegant, though not rigidly correct. The most pleasing part of the design is the mode in which the façades are broken by

the projections—two at each end of the principal façade, and three on each of the lateral faces. This, with the windows being large and mullioned, gives to the whole a cheerful, habitable look, eminently suitable to a country residence of an English nobleman, though these features deprive it of that air of monumental grandeur which the Italian town palaces possess. We meet also in this design a peculiarity which distinguishes almost all English houses from those of Italy or France. It is, that the court—where there is one—is a back court. The entrance is always in the principal external façade, and all the principal windows of the living-rooms look outwards towards



158. View of Wollaton House. From Britton.

the country—never into the courtyard. Generally an English house is a square block, without any court in the centre; and when there are wings, they are kept as subdued and as much in the background as possible. The Italian cortile is entirely unknown, and the French basse-court is only occasionally introduced, and then by some nobleman who has resided abroad, and learnt to admire foreign fashions.

From Longleat the next step is to Wollaton, which was commenced in the year after the other was finished, while, as we learn from his epitaph in Wollaton church, the same Smithson who was master mason to the former had risen to the rank of architect to this new

building.[1] In it we find the Orders used to about the same extent, and, as far as words could describe them, in about the same manner as at Longleat; but when we compare the two designs, instead of the almost Italian purity of the first, we find a rich Gothic feeling pervading the latter, and running occasionally into excesses bordering on the grotesque. The great hall, which rises out of the centre of the whole, and is plain in outline and Gothic in detail, overpowers the lower part of the design by its mass, and detracts very much from the beauty of the whole; but, with this exception, the lower part of the design is probably the happiest conception of its age in this country; and if repeated with the purity of detail we could now apply to it, would make a singularly pleasing type of the residence of an English nobleman. The rich mode in which the Orders are now used in Paris, for instance (Woodcut No. 147), shows how easily they could be made to accord with such a design as this, without any incongruity; and even Grecian purity of detail would accord perfectly with such an outline and such a use of the Orders. The age and associations attached to such a specimen as this are too apt to lead us into the belief that the incorrectness of the details adds to the picturesqueness of the effect, instead of the fact being exactly the reverse. Till tried, however, it will be difficult to convince people that such is the case; and it may be feared that the attempt would involve too much originality for the present age.

Longford Castle was again commenced just as Wollaton was finished, or in 1591; and, if anything, shows a further reaction towards the older style. It is a triangular building, with three great round towers at the angles, and the Doric pillars which adorn the porch support five pointed arches; and though those above are circular, the whole is very unlike anything that may be called Classic, or which was being erected at the same period on the Continent.

Hardwicke Hall in Derbyshire, erected between the years 1592 and 1597, and therefore immediately succeeding Wollaton, is another very favourable specimen of this style; but, though erected later, has even less of Classical detail or feeling than its predecessor. In fact, it has more affinity with those parts of Haddon Hall which approach it in date, but which, having been added to building of the true Gothic age, have been to some extent assimilated to the older style, thus producing a picturesqueness of effect seldom reached even in this age.

Temple Newsam, in Yorkshire, built in 1612, hardly shows a trace of the Italian features which twenty or thirty years earlier seemed as if they would entirely obliterate the details and feelings of Gothic Art. Even Audley Inn, or End, commenced, in 1616, by the Earl of Suffolk, is remarkably free from Italian feeling, though designed by

[1] 'History of Longleat,' by the Rev. Canon Jackson. Devizes, 1868.

a foreign architect of the name of Jansen. When complete, it must have been one of the largest and most splendid mansions of that age; and even now there is an air of palatial grandeur about the part that remains, that few of the houses of that age possess. What little of Italianism is to be found in it is confined to porches and cloisters; there is no "Order" attached to the main buildings, and the windows are, throughout the large square mullioned openings, without dressings, so characteristic of the style.

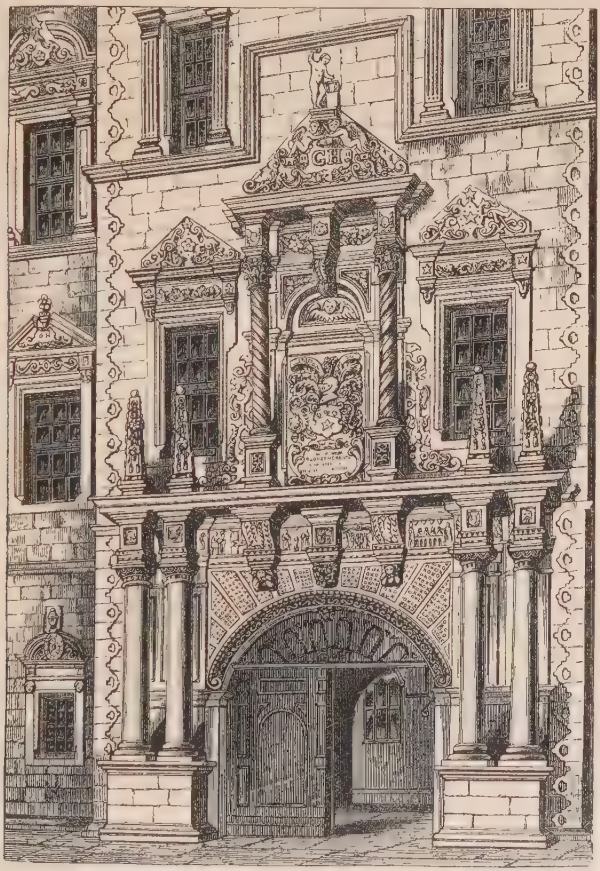
Besides these there is a large class of mansions which time has sanctified and sanctioned, though they certainly are not beautiful, either from their details or from any grouping of their parts. Among the best known of these may be quoted Hatfield House, built in 1611; Holland House, in 1607; Charlton, in Wiltshire; Burleigh, built in 1577; Westwood, in 1590; Bolsover, in 1613; and many others of more or less note and magnificence: all picturesque, generally well arranged for convenience, and always having an air of appropriateness as the residence of a nobleman in the country—characteristics which make us overlook their defects of detail; and, however tasteless many may have looked when new, it is impossible now to reason against the kindly influences which time has bestowed upon them.

This class of buildings can hardly be called Classic, or even Renaissance, in the same sense that we apply that term to continental buildings. It is only here and there that we are reminded, by a misshapen pilaster or ill-designed arcade, of a foreign influence being at work; and these are so intermingled with mullioned windows and pointed gables, that the buildings might with equal propriety be called Gothic, the fact being that there is no term really applicable to them but the very horrid, though very characteristic, name of Jacobean. As designs, there is really nothing to admire in them. They miss equally the thoughtful propriety of the Gothic and the simple purity of the Classic styles, with no pretensions to the elegance of either. All they can claim is a certain amount of picturesque appropriateness, but the former quality is far more due to the centuries that have passed away since they were erected than to any skill or taste on the part of the original designer.

Though late in date, Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh is so essentially in the Transitional style that it must be classified with those buildings which were erected before the reform introduced by Inigo Jones. It was commenced in 1628, and practically completed from the designs and under the superintendence of local architects by 1660. Though later than the Schools at Oxford, the chapel and other parts not only retain the mullions and foliation of the Gothic period, but their heads are actually filled with tracery, which had long been abandoned generally; but these features are mixed with Classical details treated in the Jacobean form, with a grotesqueness which the age has taught

us to tolerate, but which have not in themselves any beauty or any appropriateness which can render them worthy either of admiration or of imitation.

Externally, great character is given to this building by the four square tower-like masses that adorn the angles; and between these, in what may be called the curtains, the windows are disposed without

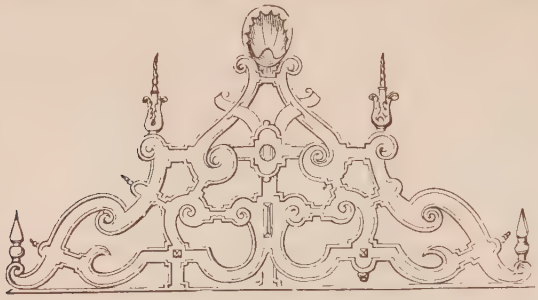


159. Gateway of Heriot's Hospital. From a drawing by W. Billings, Esq.[1]

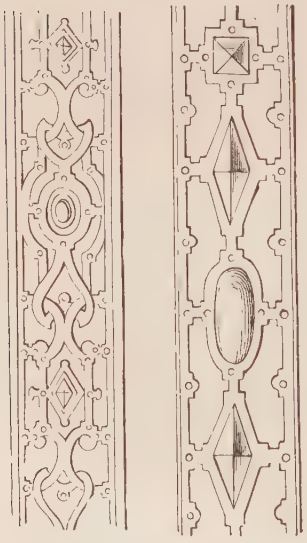
much attention to regularity either in design or position, the ornaments of each window being different, though all belonging to a class which is almost peculiar to Scotland. Generally the windows are adorned with a pilaster on each side, supporting a richly-ornamented entablature; but above that, instead of the usual straight-lined or curved pediment used by the Romans, and copied from them by the

[1] 'Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland,' 4 vols. 4to. 1848.

Italians, the Scotch employed a rich complicated piece of blind tracery, if it may be so called. As used by them, the effect is not always pleasing; the design being frequently ungraceful, and the ornaments grotesque; but it is very questionable whether in principle it is not a more legitimate mode of adorning a window-head than the one we so generally make use of. It admits, at all events, of the most infinite variety of detail. Some of those at Glasgow College, or in Regent Murray's house in the Canongate, are as elegant as any; but there is scarcely a Scotch house of the early part of the seventeenth century which has not specimens to contribute. The style of these ornaments is singularly characteristic of the age. They show that love for quirks and quibbles which pervades the literature of the day, but they show also that desire for cheapness which, rather than beauty, was the aim of the builders. Every architect knows how difficult it is to design, and how much more difficult it is to cut, all the hollow and curved mouldings which characterise every shaft and every mullion in the pure Gothic style, and how much its beauty depends on their delicacy and variety. Here, however, it is merely a square sinking, such as might be cut out of deal with a saw; and though it does produce a considerable effect at small cost, and is consistent with all the mouldings and mullions of the style, it will not bear examination, even when enriched and embossed, as it sometimes is, in pilasters and other features. Like all the other details of the age, they never reach the elegance of the Classical, and are immeasurably inferior to those of the Gothic style which preceded it.



160. Window-head Ornament.



161. Pilaster Ornaments.

Taking it altogether, the English have perhaps some reason to be proud of their Transitional style. It has not either the grandeur of the Italian, the picturesqueness of the French, nor the richness of

detail which characterised the corresponding style in Spain; but it is original and appropriate, and, if it had been carried to a legitimate issue, might have resulted in something very beautiful. Long before, however, arriving at that stage, it was entirely superseded by the importation of the newly-perfected Italian style, which in the seventeenth century had pervaded all European nations.

During the eighty years that elapsed from the death of Henry VIII. to the accession of Charles I., the Transition style left its traces in every corner of England, in the mansions of the nobility and gentry, and in the colleges and grammar-schools which were erected out of the confiscated funds of the monasteries; but, unfortunately for the dignity of this style, not one church, nor one really important public building or regal palace, was erected during the period which might have tended to redeem it from the utilitarianism into which it was sinking. The great characteristic of the epoch was that during its continuance Architecture ceased to be a natural form of expression, or the occupation of cultivated intellects, and passed into the state of being merely the stock-in-trade of professional experts. Whenever this is so, it is in vain to look either for progress in a right direction, or for that majesty and truthfulness which distinguished the earlier forms of the Art.

CHAPTER II.

RENAISSANCE.

Charles I.	1625	James II.	1685
Commonwealth	1649	William and Mary	1689
Charles II.	1660	Anne	1702

Inigo Jones.[1]

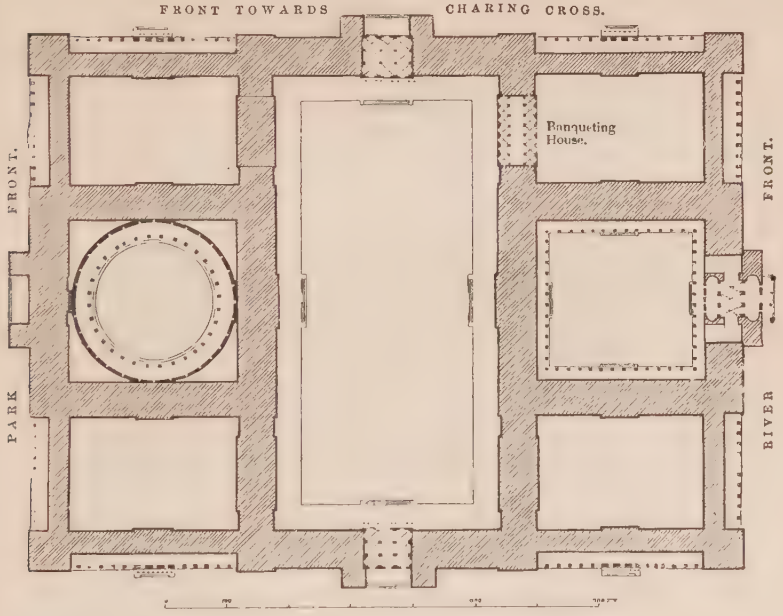
Very little is known of the early youth of Inigo Jones. What we do know, however, is, that though born of poor parents, he early showed so much taste for the Fine Arts, and such unusual ability, as to induce some noble patrons to send him to Italy in order that he might study them in the country which was then pre-eminent for their cultivation beyond any other in Europe. We further know that his success was such as to induce Christian, King of Denmark, to invite him as Court architect to Copenhagen; and that he enjoyed such favour with that king's sister, the wife of our James I., that he accompanied her to England, and was here immediately appointed her architect, and became Inspector-General of the Royal Buildings.

It gives a very exalted notion of the love which Inigo Jones had towards these arts, that he should, in 1612,—on the death of Prince Henry, to whose service he was specially attached,—have returned to Italy; abandoning for a time his practice at Court, and the emoluments which must then have been accruing to him, in order that he might, at the age of forty, complete his studies, and thoroughly master the principles which guided the great Italian architects in the designs which to his mind were the greatest and most perfect of all architectural productions.

On his return he produced his design for Whitehall, on which his fame as an architect must always principally be based; for, although it never was carried out, the Banqueting House, which was completed between the years 1619 and 1621, shows that it was not merely an architectural dream, but a scheme which might, in great part at least, have been completed, had it not been for the troubles preceding the Revolution. Its greatest error was that it was conceived on a scale as far beyond the means as it was beyond the wants of the monarch

[1] Born 1572; died 1652.

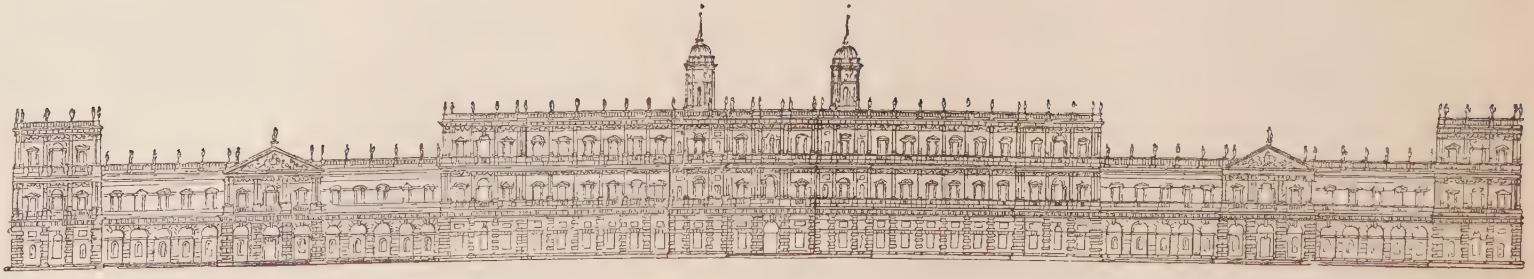
for whom it was designed. This was so much felt that a new design had to be prepared and submitted to the King, in 1639, which showed the palace reduced, not only in scale, but intended to be carried out with so much plainness, and altogether in so inferior a manner, that it is difficult to believe that it is by the same hand as the former design. This last proposal is that published by Campbell in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus;' the former is that to which Kent devoted the beautiful volume so well known to amateurs. As both contain, as a matter of course, the one fragment which has been erected, it is only fair, in speaking of the architect's design, to refer to



162. Block Plan of Inigo Jones's Design for the Palace at Whitehall.

the one which he conceived in the vigour of his talents and when fresh from his Italian studies; and not the impoverished makeshift which the troubles of the times forced him to propose in order to meet the altered circumstances of his employers.

As originally designed it was proposed that the palace should have a façade facing the river, 874 ft. in extent, and a corresponding one facing the Park, of the same dimensions. These were to be joined by a grand façade facing Charing Cross, 1152 ft. from angle to angle, with a similar one facing Westminster. The great court of the palace, 378 ft. wide by twice that number of feet in length, occupied the position of the street (120 ft. wide) now existing between the Banqueting House and the Horse Guards. Between this and the river there



163. Diagram of Inigo Jones's Design for the Palace at Whitehall. Westminster Front.



164. Diagram of River Front of Inigo Jones's Design for the Palace at Whitehall.

were three square courts, and on the side towards the Park a circular court in the centre, with two square ones on either hand. The greater part of the building was intended to be three storeys in height, each storey measuring, on an average, about 30 ft., and the whole block, with podium and balustrade, about 100 ft. The rest, like the Banqueting House, was to have been of two storeys, and 78 ft. high.

Had such a palace been executed, it would have been by far the most magnificent erected in Europe, either before or since. It would have been as large as Versailles, and much larger than the Louvre or Tuileries, taken separately; and neither the Escurial nor the Caserta could have compared with it. The river façade of the New Houses of Parliament is nearly identical in extent with that proposed by Jones for the river front of his palace; except that its proportions are destroyed by being much less in height; while the smallness of the parts and details contrast painfully with the grandeur of Jones's design. If the new Parliament Houses were continued westward, so as to include the Abbey towers in their western façade, their extent would be nearly the same, and thus some idea may be formed of the scale on which Whitehall was designed.

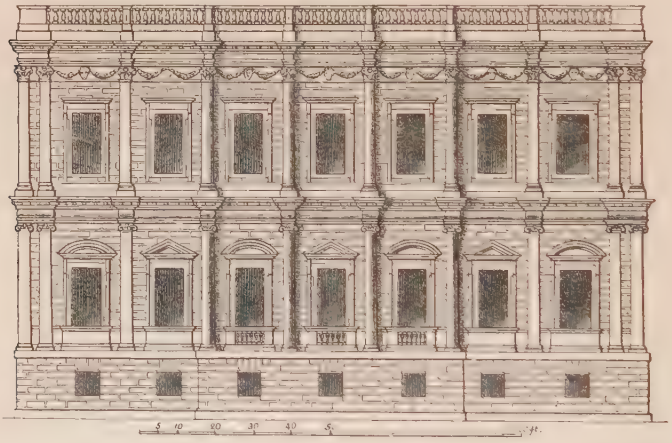
It was not, however, in dimensions, so much as in beauty of design that this proposal surpassed other European palaces. The only building to compare with its internal courts is that of the Louvre; but that is less in height and dimensions, and has not the simple grandeur which characterises this design; and it wants, too, the variety which is produced by the different heights of the parts—in the great court especially—and the richness of effect produced by the change of the design in the various blocks. Externally, Whitehall would have surpassed the Louvre, Versailles, and all other palaces, by the happy manner in which the angles are accentuated, by the boldness of the centre masses in each façade, and by the play of light and shade, and the variety of sky-line, which is obtained without ever interfering with the simplicity of the design or the harmony of the whole.

One of the most original parts of the design was the circular court, 210 ft. in diameter. It was to have been adorned on the lower storey with caryatid figures of men, doing duty for the shafts of Doric columns, and above them a similar range of female statues, bearing on their heads Corinthian capitals, to support in like manner a broken entablature. It need hardly be said that the design would have been better if the capitals had been omitted, and they had been treated merely as statues; but either way the effect would have been very rich; and the circular form of the court, with the dimensions given, would have been most pleasing.

Perhaps the part of the design most open to criticism are the little cuppolini which crown the central blocks in each façade. They certainly are not worthy of their situation: but they might easily have

been improved, and in perspective they would not have looked so insignificant as they do in elevation.

One other defect remains to be pointed out; and it is one that practically would either have prevented the palace being built, or would have required alteration immediately afterwards. It is the smallness of the entrances to the Great Court; only one archway, 13 ft. wide, being provided for that purpose. The palace must have been cut off from either the river or the park by a public roadway, or all the traffic between London and Westminster must have passed through this court. According to the design, the thoroughfare was to have been outside; but even then so small an entrance is utterly unworthy of so great a palace. There would, of course, have been some difficulty in interrupting the principal suite of apartments by raising an archway so as to cut them: but, by whatever means it was done, a



165. Banqueting House, Whitehall.

grander entrance to the palace was indispensable, even irrespective of the through traffic; and it is one of the defects of this design, as of the new buildings of the Tuileries, that no portal worthy of the palace is provided anywhere.

The Banqueting House, as it now stands, is certainly neither worthy of the inordinate praise or the indiscriminate blame which has been lavished on it. It is true that it is a solecism to make what is one room internally look as if it were in two storeys on the exterior; but then it was only one of four similar blocks. That exactly opposite was to have been a chapel with a wide gallery all round, and consequently requiring two ranges of lights. The other two were part of the general suites of the palace, and consequently could not afford to be 57 ft. high internally, as this is. At present it looks stuck up and rather meagre in its details; but as part of a curtain between two higher

and more richly-ornamented blocks of building this would have disappeared. Its real defects of detail are the pulvination of the lower frieze, which is very unpleasing, and the height of the balustrade. But, on the other hand, the windows are well proportioned and elegant in ornament,—the voids and solids are well balanced, and the amount of ornament sufficient to give an appropriate effect without being overdone; and, what is perhaps of as much importance as anything else, the whole is designed on so large a scale as to convey an idea of grandeur, giving a palatial effect irrespective of any merits of detail it may possess.

In the erection of the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Jones had probably the fortune to raise the first important Protestant church now known to exist; and as we learn that his instructions were the same as those given to most architects in similar circumstances, viz., to provide the greatest possible amount of accommodation at the least possible expense, he is fairly entitled to claim a degree of success rarely accomplished by his successors.



166. East Elevation of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

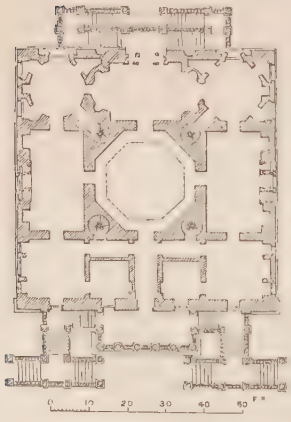
St. Paul's church was apparently commenced about the year 1631, under the auspices of Francis Duke of Bedford, as a chapel-of-ease to St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Although small in dimensions—only 60 ft. by 133—and almost barn-like in its simplicity, no one can mistake its being a church, and it would be extremely difficult, if possible, to quote another in which so grand an effect is produced by such simple means; its only really architectural features being two very simple plain pillars, forming a recessed portico in antis; which—though Jones probably did not know it—was one of the favourite and most successful inventions of the Greeks.

In this instance the effect is considerably marred by the curious local superstition that the altar must be towards the east. Though this is not known in Italy and other intensely Catholic countries, it is a favourite idea with English Protestants, and many fine churches have been spoiled in consequence. Here it is particularly painful, as the central door, being built up with stone, renders the portico unmeaning to a great extent, and gives a painful idea of falsehood to the whole design. But, barring this, the simplicity of the portico, the boldness of the projection of the eaves, and the general harmony and good taste pervading the whole building, convey a very high idea of Jones's

talents, and of his power of applying them to any design, however novel it might be.

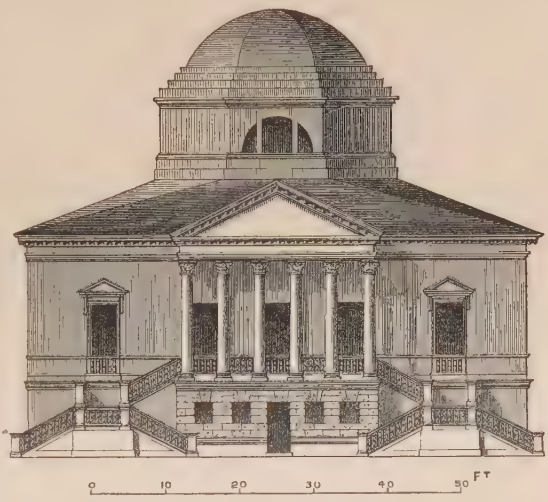
The repairs which Jones executed at St. Paul's Cathedral can scarcely be quoted as examples of his genius or taste. It was hardly possible that any one should succeed in casing a Gothic nave with an Italian exterior without such incongruity as should spoil both. His own taste and that of his age led him to despise what was then considered the barbarism of our forefathers. A great deal was thought to be gained when it could be disguised and hidden out of sight; but it would require a greater genius than the world has yet seen to accomplish this successfully, and we must not therefore feel surprised if he failed in this instance. Considered, however, by itself, the portico which he added in front was one of the finest, if not the very best, that ever was erected in England. It consisted of eight well proportioned Corinthian pillars in front, each 47 ft. high, with two square ones on the angles, and was three pillars deep: the whole well proportioned and elegant in all its details, standing well on its step, and with no useless pediment to crush it. On the whole, it may be considered the best example of its class in this country before that of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, and shows what a thorough master of his art its designer was, even at that early period.

Perhaps the most successful of Jones's smaller designs is the one he furnished for the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. It was avowedly suggested by that of his idol Palladio at Vicenza; but he had too much taste and originality to copy it literally, as was done at Mereworth Hall, or to thrust two rooms into two of the porticoes, as was done at Foot's Cray. On the contrary, Jones improved the form of the dome, and he added only one portico, which, in fact, was necessary to suggest the design; and he so modified the elevation of the three remaining sides as to make them elegant and appropriate façades for an English nobleman's villa. The disposition of the interior is as elegant and dignified as that of the exterior, and, for its purposes, as pleasing as any to be found anywhere. It may be objected that the introduction of the portico is altogether a mistake; that it trammels the whole design, and is of no use. Such, however, was not the opinion of either architects or their employers in those days. All were hankering after classicality, and a portico was the feature best known, and the one which most readily suggested the ideal



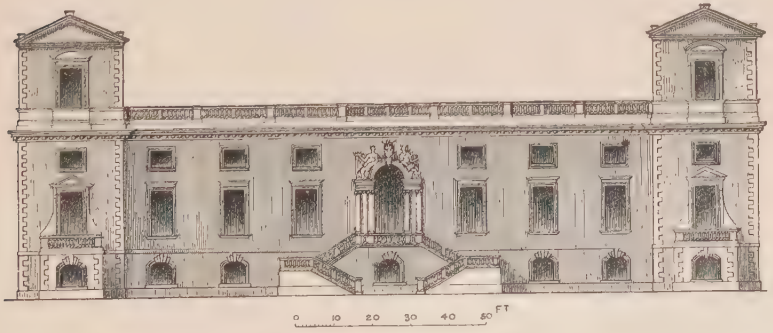
167. Villa at Chiswick. From Kent.

they were seeking after. As it was afterwards used, in a great many instances it was an absurdity which nothing can excuse; but not as applied here to what was merely the suburban villa of a refined nobleman, and where, consequently, if anywhere, it was excusable to indulge in learned fancies, irrespective of their utilitarian application.



168. Elevation of Villa at Chiswick. From Kent.

In the façade which Jones designed for Wilton he omitted the Order altogether, and sought merely to attain the effect he desired by a pleasing proportion of the parts among themselves, and a sufficient scale to give dignity to the mass; and so successful was he that this design has been repeated over and over again in the country seats of English noblemen. There is little fault to be found with the elevation, which is both elegant and appropriate, unless it



169. Façade of Wilton House, Wiltshire.

is being too plain for the purpose. This is a defect that might easily have been removed by richer dressings round the windows, or by panelling; but these ornaments were not then considered such essential parts of a Classical design as they have since become, and an architect of those days, when called upon to enrich such a

façade as this, could think of nothing better than adding a portico of from four to eight pillars, running through two or more storeys, and plastering on useless pilasters wherever pillars could not be put. No architect was so free from these defects as Jones, and nothing gives a higher idea of his genius than to see how he avoided the faults of his master Palladio, and only used the Orders according to the dictates of his own good taste.

It is too much the fashion at the present day to ascribe to Jones every remarkable building erected during the reigns of the first two Stuarts; and if he was guilty of many of these, we must place him in a lower rank than he is generally supposed to be entitled to. The design of the river façade of Greenwich Hospital is almost always said to be his, without a shadow of documentary evidence, merely, apparently, because his son-in-law and pupil, Webb, superintended the execution of it; but it is almost impossible to believe that the architect of Whitehall and Chiswick could have designed anything so clumsy in its details. It has great three-quarter columns running through two storeys, crowned by an ill-proportioned attic, and with great useless pediments shutting up the windows of the upper storey. From its size and position, and the material of which it is built, and, more than this, from the extent to which it has afterwards been added to, the façade of Greenwich Hospital is a grand and imposing mass: but it would be difficult to point out anywhere in Europe, even during the reign of Henri Quatre, any design that will less bear examination. The model adopted here seems to have been the façade of St. Peter's at Rome, and it certainly has not been improved upon.

Another design which is described to Jones, but which certainly belongs to his son-in-law, is that for Amesbury in Wiltshire, which, though considerably more elegant and tasteful than Greenwich, has faults he never would have committed. It is interesting, however, as one of the earliest examples of the type on which nine-tenths of the seats of English gentry were afterwards erected: almost all subsequent houses consisting of a rusticated basement, which contains the dining and business rooms; a bel étage, and a bedroom storey, with attics in the roof. On the basement, and running through the two upper storeys, is the portico—always for ornament, never for use, and generally so badly applied as to be offensively obtrusive. In this instance there are no upper windows under the portico, but those on either side range so exactly with the entablature of the Order that we cannot help perceiving that there is a falsehood about it contrary to all the principles of true Art.

Some of the English country seats built after Amesbury are better in design—many very much worse—but nearly all follow its general features, thus differing essentially from those of either Italy or France. Generally, they are cubical blocks without courtyards—seven, nine, or



170. Elevation of the House of Amesbury, Wiltshire.

eleven windows on each side, according to circumstances, and three or five of these on the principal front covered by a portico. It is a simple receipt, and, barring the portico, one eminently suited to the climate, and capable of internal comfort and external grandeur, though the attempt to render it Classical has frequently marred the latter quality. So far as we know, either from his published drawings or from such designs as can authentically be ascribed to him, no examples of this class were proposed by Jones. On the contrary, there is an originality and playfulness about his published designs which might have made more expensive and less comfortable dwellings in this country, but would always have been elegant, and never commonplace. He fell, however, upon evil days, as the troubles of the Commonwealth supervened before his career was half over, and before any of his great conceptions were practically realised; but we know enough of what he did, and of what he could do, to be able to assign to him the very first rank among the artistic architects of England during the Renaissance period. Wren may have been greater in construction, but was not equal to Jones in design; and we look down the ranks from that day to this without finding any names we can fairly class with those of these two great men. This, however, may

be owing to the circumstances in which the architects of subsequent ages were placed more than to the individual deficiencies of the men themselves.

II.—Wren.[1]

If Inigo Jones had a practical monoply of the architectural profession in England up to the time of the Commonwealth, that of Sir Christopher Wren was even more complete after the Restoration ; for no building of importance was erected during the last forty years of the seventeenth century of which he was not the architect.

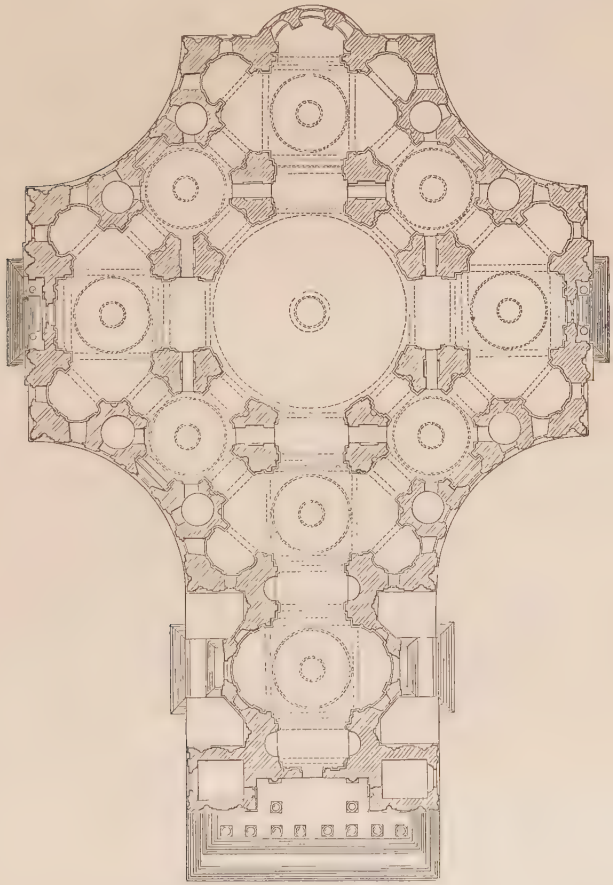
Both by birth and education Wren was essentially a gentleman, and at a very early age was remarkable as a prodigy of learning, not only classical but mathematical. The bent of his mind, however, seems to have been towards the latter ; and he early distinguished himself by the zeal and success with which he cultivated the physical sciences ; but we do not know, either what first made him turn his attention to Architecture, or when he determined on following it as a profession. It certainly could hardly be during the Commonwealth, when there was no room for its exercise ; but three years after the Restoration we find his name on a commission for repairing and restoring Old St. Paul's, and acting as the architect to carry out the works determined upon. In the following year (1664) he gave the designs for the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford : and as that building was wholly carried out from his plans and under his superintendence, and is also one of his best and most difficult works, we may assume that he was then an architect by profession, and had mastered all the preliminary studies requisite for its exercise.

It is not, however, yet clear that even then he would have followed it exclusively, and might not have gone back to astronomy and the mathematical pursuits in which he had achieved so great a reputation, had it not been for the Great Fire of London in 1666. He was at Paris, studying apparently the works then going on there, when this great calamity happened ; and hurried back immediately to assist in taking his share in the great work of restoration.

His first great step in this direction was preparing a plan on which he proposed the city should be rebuilt. Unfortunately for us it was found impracticable at the time to carry this out, as, had it been followed, it would have made London not only one of the handsomest, but one of the most convenient cities in the world. The opportunity, however, was lost ; and subsequent improvers can only continue to mourn over the blindness or the selfishness of their forefathers who neglected the opportunity.

[1] Born 1632 ; died 1723.

Although he was not permitted to direct the alignment of the streets, the fire gave him an opportunity of rebuilding St. Paul's and some fifty other churches, and so completely established his reputation that every architectural work of importance for nearly half a century was intrusted to his care; and although we cannot but rejoice that so competent a man was found for so great an occasion,

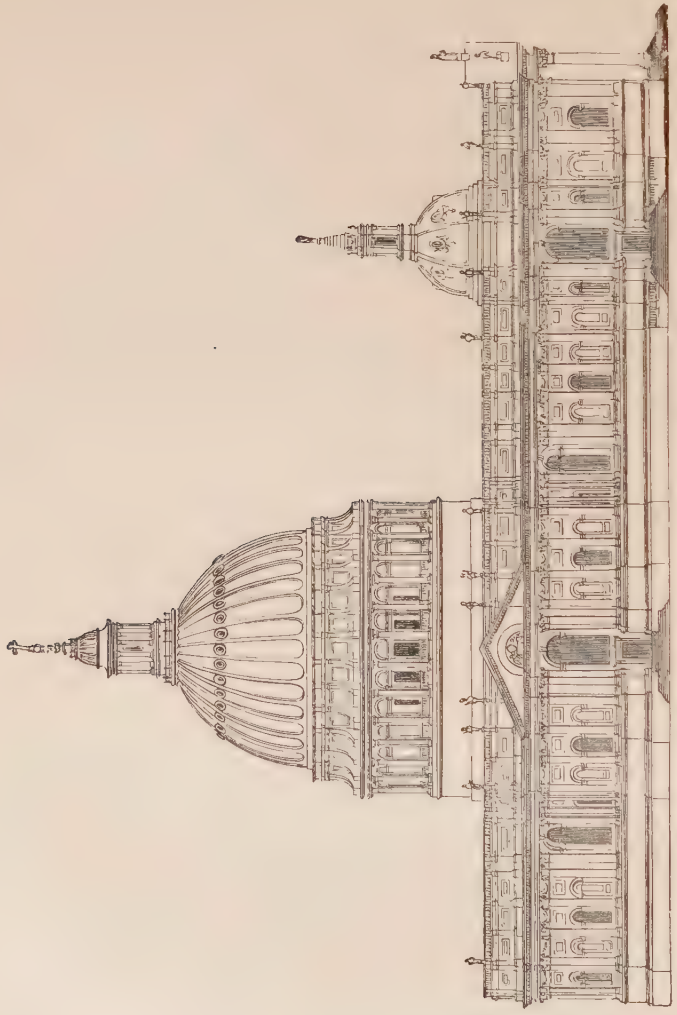


171. Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral, as originally designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

we must at the same time feel that more work was thrown on his hands than any one man could perform, and consequently many of his designs show marks of haste, and of a want of due consideration.

The greatest of all his works is of course St. Paul's—the largest and finest Protestant cathedral in the world, and, after St. Peter's, the most splendid church erected in Europe since the revival of Classical Architecture. The fire had decided the fate of the old cathedral, but

it was not till nine years afterwards (1675) that any practical steps were taken to rebuild it. The foundation-stone of the present church was laid on the 21st June in that year, and thirty-five years afterwards the top-stone of the lantern was laid by Sir Christopher Wren, thus practically completing the building in 1710.[1]



Side Elevation of St. Paul's Cathedral, as shown in the model of the first design. 172.

As early as 1673 Wren had prepared several designs for the new church, which were then submitted to the King; and one (apparently the one he himself liked best) was selected, and a model ordered to be

[1] Four years after the completion of the Dome of the Invalides at Paris, which had been commenced five years later than St. Paul's.

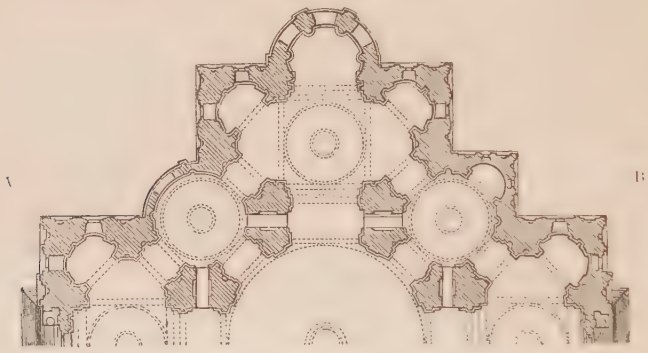
prepared on such a scale and in such detail as might prevent any difficulty arising afterwards in the event of the architect's death. That model still exists, now under repair, at the South Kensington Museum, and is so complete that we have no difficulty in criticising it as we would a church which had been completed. As will be seen from the annexed plan, it is arranged much in the same manner as Sangallo's design for St. Peter's (Woodcut No. 24)—practically a Greek cross with a dome in the centre, and a detached frontispiece, joined to the main body of the building by a narrow vestibule or waist, in which are situated two of the principal entrances. The central dome, which was to have been of the same diameter as the present one (a little over 100 ft.), was, like it, to stand on eight arches—four of them 38 ft. in diameter, the other four about 22 ft. These opened into eight apartments, each covered by a dome 45 ft. in diameter, but placed at varying distances from the central dome. For the purposes of a service church, in which the congregation is an important element, it cannot be doubted that this arrangement is superior to that of the present church, the great defect being a want of definite proportion between the small and large arches supporting the dome. As they all sprung from the same level, the wide arches are too low, the narrow ones are too high; but the practical difference is so slight that it looks like bad building, or as if the architect had made a mistake in setting out the work, and tried to correct his error by a clumsy device. Notwithstanding this and some minor defects, it cannot but be a matter of regret that Sir Christopher was not allowed to carry out his design, as the interior as far excelled that of the present church as its exterior surpasses that shown in the model; while looking at the slow and tentative steps by which he arrived at the design[1] of the outside of the present church, there can be little doubt but that most of the defects of the model would have been remedied before being carried into execution.

One of the greatest defects of the plan, externally, is the introduction of the hollow curves surrounding the dome; but this could easily have been remedied without in the least interfering with the internal arrangements, either by introducing a quadrant, as shown at A, on the left hand of the annexed diagram, bringing the lines of the dome down to the ground; or, better still, by introducing an angular arrangement, as shown at B, on the right hand.[2] In either case the

[1] These are well shown in the illustrations of Mr. W. Longman's recently-published 'Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul in London.' It almost makes one shudder to see what we have escaped.

[2] The two great and most successful inventions of the Indian architects in planning are the octagonal domes supported on 12 or more pillars, and the angular disposition of the masonry of their great towers. The latter not only gives great strength constructively, but affords infinite play of light and shade, and variety of

lines of these four angular domes ought to have been carried through the roof, the cornice of their drums ranging with that of the stylobate of the great dome, and light being introduced into them by openings at their base, as is done in all Byzantine churches. Had this been done it would not only have given variety in the roof, where it is rather wanted internally, but the group of five domes in the centre of the church, the lines of four of which are actually brought down to the ground externally, would have been a happier arrangement than has yet been obtained in these domical churches.



173. Diagram showing two modes by which the hollow curves of Wren's first design might be remedied.

The nave could easily have been made straight lined, but the western front, as shown in the model, presents a difficulty not so easily got over. A great portico, consisting of pillars more than 50 ft. in height, backed by a range of pilasters less than 40 ft., with their entablatures on the same level, would have been a solecism nothing could well get over.[1] Sir Christopher himself seems to have felt this,

design. Sir Christopher Wren adopted the first with perfect success in the interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and it would have been curious if he had hit upon the other in St. Paul's. If he had adopted the form suggested at B, it would have resulted in a plan as essentially Indian as St. Stephen's, and would probably have been as great a success externally, that is, as an interior.

Mr. Longman, in his 'Three Cathedrals,' p. 115, is of opinion that he was very nearly adopting a third Indian invention, by hanging a weight inside his dome to counteract the outward thrust, as is done at Beejapore ('History of Architecture,' vol. ii.; Woodcuts 1119 to 1125). His illustrations certainly seem to countenance this idea, and I wish I could believe that it was so; but I am afraid it is only a timber screen to hide the mode in which the upper dome is lighted—an exaggeration, in fact, of the mode adopted by Hardouin, at the Invalides in Paris (Woodcut 104), with the drawings of which Wren was no doubt familiar. Had so novel an expedient occurred to him, some allusion to it must have been found in the 'Parentalia,' or some calculations, an infinite number of which would have been required to induce a commission to allow its adoption.

[1] It was like the want of a definite proportion between the great and small arches under the domes internally, and is always painful in true art.

for in one of his drawings, published by Dugdale,[1] the entrances on the west are under the pillars of the portico, as in the flanks, which certainly was much more in accordance with rule, but at the expense of common sense, as the portico then became a useless ornament, and would much better have been omitted altogether.

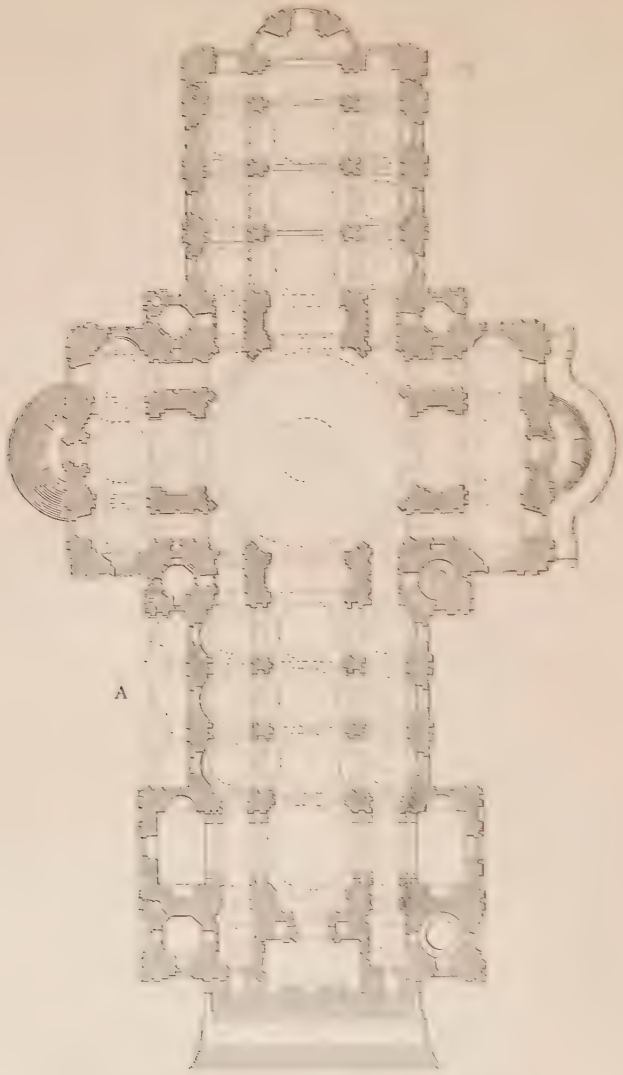
Assuming, however, that the external form of the dome would have been modified till it resembled the present one, that the western campaniles would have been introduced, and that the whole design would have been revised in the sense above indicated, the result certainly would have been far more satisfactory than the present design. Internally, the gradually-increasing magnificence from the principal entrance to the great dome, with nothing beyond but a small choir of the same design and length as the transepts, would have been in perfect taste, while the ever-varying perspectives in the great circumambient aisle of the dome—would have surpassed those in the great aisle that surrounds the dome at St. Peter's, while, externally, nearly all the faults of the present design would have been avoided.

These, however, are idle speculations now. Whether in consequence of the influence of the Duke of York, as is commonly asserted, or whether owing to the feelings of the clergy, who wanted arrangements similar to those they had been accustomed to in their own cathedrals, the model was thrown aside, and Wren was ordered to produce a design embodying the present arrangements in plan. This design was submitted to the King, and approved of in the year 1675,[2] and, externally at least, is so inferior to even the first design, that we are justified in assuming that if the present very beautiful exterior grew out of this, something very much more perfect than either might have grown out of the design embodied in the model. The interior, as then designed, was apparently very much what was afterwards carried out.

The great defect of the design in plan is that it consists of two moderately-sized apartments, the nave and choir, almost identical in design, but separated from one another by a third apartment practically more than double the width and also double the height of either. It is practically three distinct churches, and not so arranged as to get the best effect out of them. Had the choir been only the same length as the transepts—adding, of course, the apse—and the two eastern bays been added to the nave, it would have done much to redeem the plan. But the radical defect was the adoption of the

[1] 'History of St. Paul's,' London, 1814–1818, opposite p. 124. This seems to have been earlier than the model, and in fact Wren's first design.

[2] Published by Mr. Longman in his 'Three Cathedrals of St. Paul,' p. 113. Though called in the Royal Warrant "very artificial, proper, and useful," it now appears to us singularly devoid of art, improper, and for the most part useless for the purposes for which it was intended.



174. Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

octagonal plan for the dome.[1] Practically this reduced the width of all the adjoining compartments to 40 feet, whereas, as above pointed

[1] In making this design, Sir Christopher was probably thinking of the very beautiful effect gained by an octagonal arrangement at Ely; he, however, overlooked the fact that the flexibility of the Pointed style admitting arches to be grouped together of all widths, lent itself to such an arrangement in a manner incompatible with the greater severity of the round arched styles; but at Ely the architect abandoned the vista along the aisles, as practically not worth preserving.



175. Half Section, half Elevation of the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral.

out, at least 60, or something between that and the Byzantine proportion of 100, were necessary to bring the parts at all into harmony. This led to a third difficulty. It was impossible that the alternate arches of the dome could be 40 feet wide below, and as they must spring from the same level and reach the same height, a variety of mechanical expedients were necessary which have become real deformities in practice. They might to some extent be remedied now —for instance, by introducing two pillars standing free and carrying the entablature horizontally across, and supporting a real tribune with a bold balcony in front, in place of the present curved cornice, or by some

such expedient. But nothing could remedy the comparative narrowness of the nave; and the vista along the aisles, on which the architect mainly depended for effect, is only productive of confusion. In plan it looks pretty, but, as seen in perspective, the distance across the great dome which separates the nave aisles from those of the choir is so great as entirely to neutralise the effect so sought to be obtained.

The enormously disproportionate height of the dome—216 feet against 108 in width—dwarfs everything around it, and it does not itself look half so spacious as it would have done had it sprung from the stringcourse above the Whispering Gallery, in which the pilasters of the dome now stand.[1] Wren seems to have been haunted with the idea, that he ought to scoop as much as he possibly could out of the dome because Brunelleschi and Michael Angelo had done so; but it certainly was a mistake. Had he been content with one 40 or 50 feet lower he would have done something towards harmonising his disproportionate parts, and his cone, which is a perfectly legitimate constructive expedient, would not then have interfered with his architecture. As it is, it forced him to slope forward the interior pillars between the windows in a manner utterly destructive of all true architectural effect.

Besides these defects of proportion there is one of detail, which runs through the whole design and mars it to an extent so great that the wonder is Wren could ever have introduced it. Throughout the whole interior, over the great Order, there runs a perfectly useless attic, 12 feet high, between it and the springing of the vault. It was introduced probably to give greater height to six windows in the building, three at the east end and one at the end of each of the transepts and nave. But this was very little gain, and it divorced his vault from the Order that ought to support it, forced him to omit the architrave and frieze of his Order everywhere, to allow sufficient height to the arches of the nave and choir, and generally introduced a most unnecessary complexity and weakness into the whole design. The remedy for all this was simple. Without interfering with his dimensions or construction in any way, he had only to increase his Order six or seven feet in height, and so reduce his attic to blocking course. Had he done this, the entablature might have run unbroken all round the church, and the taller Order would have given dignity and proportion to all his larger arches, especially under the dome, where the additional height is much wanted.[2]

[1] If Ely was the model he was following, he ought to have recollected that the dome of Ely, if it may be so called, springs from the same capitals as the great arches of the nave and choir; and though in the centre there is a lantern which is higher, architecturally it is as if the dome of St. Paul's had been made to spring from the cornice of the Order of the nave and choir.

[2] This might be done now, but would be expensive; it would, however, do more to improve the effect of the church internally than any change that could be made, except, perhaps, lowering the dome.

Above this attic rises the vault, which by no means helps to excuse its introduction, for it must be confessed it is singularly confused and inartistic, consisting of a series of small flat domes, 26 ft. in diameter, each surrounded by a very heavy wreath of mouldings, which the little string of ornament along the arris of the supporting vaults seems painfully inadequate to support. It is possible some of these defects might be remedied or concealed by judicious painting; but nothing that can now be done will effectually cure them. The fact seems to be that Wren was met by the same difficulties which all architects have experienced in trying to adapt Classical details to Gothic forms. Besides this, he seems always to have had before his eyes the mechanical difficulties of his task, and, when the two appeared to conflict, he seems invariably to have allowed the mechanical exigencies precedence over the artistic. This has enabled him to construct a singularly stable church, but one which, as an artistic design, is internally very inferior to St. Peter's at Rome, immeasurably so when compared to such a church as St. Geneviève at Paris, and one which must not be mentioned in conjunction with the Byzantine or Gothic designs whose features he was trying to adapt.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain how far Sir Christopher intended to rely on painting or coloured decoration of any sort to remedy these defects, or for the completion of the interior of his cathedral. From a note in the 'Parentalia' (p. 292) we learn that, instead of painting, which was determined upon against his will, he proposed "to beautify the inside of the cupola with the more durable ornament of mosaick work, as is nobly executed in the cupola of St. Peter's at Rome." It is probable also that he intended to adorn the spandrils of the dome under the Whispering Gallery with paintings or mosaics such as are shown in Emmett's engraving dated 1702.[1] It may also be inferred that he intended to paint or colour the nine great domes of the nave, choir, and transepts, as these are finished in plaster and not in stone like the rest of the vault, and he may also have proposed to adorn the apse either with marble or paintings in imitation of marble, as is now done. These paintings or mosaics would have, of course, involved a certain amount of gilding of the architectural ornaments, but it is more than doubtful whether Sir Christopher ever intended to have gone beyond this in this direction. The whole spirit of the age in which he lived was inimical to coloured architecture. Wherever any traces of it were found in Gothic buildings it was voted a barbarism, and carefully covered up with whitewash, and it is only within the last thirty or forty years that our revived taste for the Gothic style, and the discovery that the Greeks also coloured their architecture, that the idea has come to be tolerated amongst us. In

[1] Engraved by Longman, in his 'Three Cathedrals of St. Paul,' p. 149.

Wren's days, to have coloured the interior of a Protestant church even to the extent above indicated must have seemed a most daring and hazardous innovation, and it is no wonder that the commission preferred Sir James Thornhill's monochromes to their architect's mosaics. Though he regretted this, and justly, he would have been more vexed and horrified had any one proposed to eke out his stone architecture with colour. The idea of adding colour to his capitals or cornices, or covering his friezes or walls with panels or painted ornaments, would have sunk deeper into his heart than the refusal of salary, or any of the other annoyances to which he was so cruelly exposed. His stone architecture was, as he considered, complete in itself, and required no aid from any adventitious art.[1]

Be this as it may, it appears that most of the defects of the interior of St. Paul's have arisen from the fact that, both from the natural bent of his mind and from the circumstances of his education, Wren was more of an engineer than an architect, and, consequently, was frequently led to display his mechanical skill at the expense of his artistic feelings; and, generally speaking, he had not that intimate knowledge of the resources of Architectural Art—especially the "*ars celare artem*"—which might have enabled him to avoid parading his mechanical expedients so offensively as he has frequently done, and most especially in the interior of St. Paul's. It is only fair to add, however, that if the building had been completed and ornamented with sculpture and painting even to the extent designed by its architect, the effect might have been different from what we now see. If all its structural defects could not have been concealed, attention might have been at least so far distracted from them that they would hardly have been remarked, and it might even internally have had some claim to rank second among the Renaissance churches of Europe.

The arrangement of the exterior is infinitely more successful than that of the interior. The general design of the dome is by far the most pleasing which has yet been accomplished, and the employment of a wooden covering by no means objectionable under the circumstances. It is only what every Gothic building in Europe possesses—a wooden roof externally over a stone vault in the interior; and it enabled Sir Christopher to mould it to any form that pleased the eye, and to carry the whole gracefully to the height of 360 ft. from

[1] It by no means follows from this, that we at the present day would not be justified in adding colour to any extent, provided we felt certain that the taste of the present day in these matters was better than that of the age when St. Paul's was erected, and if we felt sure of finding an architect more capable than Wren to form a correct judgment, and to carry out such a work. Without these two requisites, we run great risk of murdering St. Paul's, in the same manner as Burlington House has recently been murdered.



176. West View of St. Paul's Cathedral. From a Photograph.

the floor-line to the top of the cross, without any apparent effort externally.

The colonnade surrounding the dome is also quite unsurpassed. By blocking up every fourth intercolumniation, he not only got a great appearance of strength, but a depth of shadow between, which gives it a richness and variety combined with simplicity of outline fulfilling every requisite of good architecture, and rendering this part of the design immensely superior to all its rivals. Owing also to the re-entering angles at the junction of the nave and transepts coming so close to it, you see what it stands upon, and can follow its whole outline from the ground to the cross without any tax on the imagination.

The great defect of the lower part of the design arose from Wren not accepting frankly the Mediæval arrangement of a clerestory and side aisles. If his aisle had projected beyond the line of the upper storey, there would at once have been an obvious and imperative

reason for the adoption of two Orders, one over the other, which has been so much criticised. Supposing it were even now determined to fill up the interval between the propylæa and the transept, as shown by the dotted lines on the plan at A (Woodcut 174), the whole would be reduced to harmony; it would hide the windows in the pedestals of the upper niches, which are one of the great blots in the design; and by giving greater simplicity and breadth to the lower storey, the whole would obtain that repose in which it is somewhat deficient.

The west front is certainly open to criticism as it now stands, there being no suggestion externally of two storeys, or two aisles of different heights. But its dimensions, the beauty of its details, the happy outline of the campaniles, the proportion of these to the façade, and of all the parts one to another, make up the most pleasing design that has yet been executed of its class.

The same may be said of the transepts. Their circular porticoes, and the proportions of all the parts, their harmony with, and subordination to, the principal façade, are all extremely pleasing: and though it would be easy to mention minor points which our greater knowledge of the style would enable us to remedy, it will hardly be disputed that the exterior of St. Paul's surpasses in beauty of design all the other examples of the same class which have yet been carried out; and, whether seen from a distance or near, it is, externally at least, one of the grandest and most beautiful churches of Europe.

[The Design of the Dome of St. Paul's.—The question of the artistic merits or demerits of the design of our famous metropolitan dome, taken as a critical exercise on high ground, is one that is well worthy of consideration. As a preliminary the reader is requested to compare carefully the section of this dome (No. 175) with the sections of the dome at Mantua (No. 16), the dome of St. Peter's at Rome (No. 30), the dome of the Invalides at Paris (No. 104), the dome of the Pantheon at Paris (No. 110), the dome of St. Isaac's at St. Petersburg (No. 263), and the dome of the Capitol at Washington (No 286). The primary purpose of the designer in all these instances is the same, namely, to construct as the central feature of a pyramidal group a crux-tower, circular on plan, crowned with an outside dome for appropriate effect in external proportion, and occupied by an inside dome for appropriate effect in internal proportion. How are the two effects to be combined? The elementary construction of a dome on scientific principles is very suggestively represented in the example at Mousta (No. 10). This would be built of stone or brick, or an equivalent, and is, in fact, a strictly structural circular vault. In the East the self-same scientific object is accomplished with every facility in concrete. There is no reason why timber should not be employed in the form of exposed quadrantal ribs with a covering. So also iron,

even cast iron, in the same form of radiating ribs, could not be objected to on principle; and it may be remarked that the great conical iron roof of the Exhibition Building at Vienna is in every respect the more primitive or simple counterpart of a dome, although without curvature. (That is to say, there is a series of iron rafters, converging from a circular sill at the bottom to the base of a circular lantern at the top, and braced at intervals by circular horizontal ribs, like the parallels of latitude and longitude of the geographers; and it makes no difference in principle so far whether the rafters are curved or straight.) In all these cases alike one of two general laws, or both combined, must be observed; first, the artificial equilibration—unless the curve be a catenary—or the graduated depth of the arch vertically (very distinctly shown in the Mousta dome); secondly, the efficient use of bond laterally (as most prominently exhibited in the Vienna cone). The perfect mode of theoretical construction—and practical too perhaps—is the Oriental system, whereby the whole dome is made a solid inverted cup of concrete as artificial stone; although, it need scarcely be said, if this cup is not in equilibration as regards its thickness throughout, the strains of the arch will find out any weak point and there break it if they can. Now if we turn to the St. Peter's dome—which followed the lead of the Duomo at Florence, another good example—we see two vaults, or we may prefer to say one vault with outer and inner shells. Chain bond has to be largely allowed for here, especially to carry the lantern, which of course loads the dome for the sake of appearance exactly where it ought not to be loaded for strength. But, artistically, the point to be noted is that the outer form coincides with the inner—as it ought to do; the outside surface and the inside surface are both equally legitimate to the dome; and the slightly projecting peristyle around the base (the particular arrangement of the columns being only matter of taste) serves to add grace, as well as a little strength perhaps, to the structure. In the Mantua case (No. 16) the motive is so much simpler as to be in fact primitive, like the domes of the East; the equilibration being elementary, and the disturbing load of the lantern insignificant. Turning next to the example of the Paris Invalides (No. 104), we see a vital difference of treatment as compared with St. Peter's. The architect is not satisfied with the altitude of the interior dome for exterior effect, and he therefore superimposes a lofty roof of timber-work which is made of domical outline for the sake of form alone. The intermediate vault for decorative painting may fairly be taken as a legitimate part of the interior dome; but the roof above, with its lantern, is palpably a make-believe, if we are to accept in any way the critical principle that the skin without ought to tell the story of the anatomy within. A purist like Street would have covered the tower with a plain conical roof to throw off the rain—as was frequently done in Byzantine churches—but the modern Italian tradition pointed to

a dome-shaped roof, and here it is. No one would wish to deny its beauty of proportion, and indeed its preferableness in this respect to the dome of St. Peter's, which is considered to be disproportionately low. Moreover, there are probably few who would admire equally in practice the simple honesty of the plain Byzantine roof-covering. Plenty of examples also, are to be quoted of great square roofs, which are more or less unoccupied inside, especially in France. But, if it be admitted that this exterior dome of the Invalides is a roof-covering and nothing more, then the inquiry must close with this admission. The form of the roof-covering at last is clearly seen to be non-constructive, and a mere consideration of elegance—almost like the case of St. Mark's at Venice, where the outside domes rise like balloons for 30 ft. above the structural vaults within. Take next in order the dome of the Paris Pantheon (No. 110). This design is in external effect of similar motive, but in internal anatomy more justifiable. The super-vault for the painter may probably be considered to fill the interior space sufficiently; and the absence of timber-work may justify still more the design as a whole in respect of legitimate architectural construction. But turn now to the case of St. Paul's (No 175). This design differs from all the foregoing in the most important particulars. The eye of the internal dome is 215 feet from the floor, which, as matter of proportion, is quite as much as the architect could be expected to manage well, if not more. For exterior proportion, however, he demands 55 feet more, besides 90 feet still more for a lantern and its crowning cross. The problem is how to bring these widely different altitudes together; and this is how it is solved. In the first place, a whole hemisphere—virtually the same as in the case of St. Mark's at Venice—must be built up somehow above the interior summit; and this shall be done with timber-work as an elevated roof. But it is further determined that the lantern shall be of stone, in spite of its enormous dead-weight, and in spite also of its surmounting a balloon of timber-work. The ingenious contrivance is therefore resorted to of building up in concealment a vast cone of brickwork from the drum of the inner dome—itself conicalised to receive it in a way which is not identifiable with any artistic motive—and by this hidden artifice a sufficient support is at last achieved at the summit, on which to place the weight of the stone lantern. The further expenditure of ingenuity in forming the outside profile of the domical roof, with its drum and peristyle, in perfect want of accord with everything inside, may be judged of from the engraving; and the critical question—which need not shock our patriotism too much—is, how to reconcile all this ingenuity with the artistic principle of anatomical truth. That the famous dome of St. Paul's is a tower, and not properly a dome at all, may be said easily enough; and that the altitude of it is admirably proportioned in the grouping is equally

allowable; but what shall we say of the make-believe, or, in modern phrase, the sham? Before answering this question for himself, however, let the patriotic reader console himself by referring to the dome of St. Isaac's at St. Petersburg (No. 263), and that of the Capitol of the United States at Washington (No. 286). In the case of St. Isaac's the reconciliation of the inner skull and the outer hat is boldly achieved by constructing a cone of cast-iron ribs, which has the iron frame-work of the interior vault attached to it below, and the iron lantern imposed upon it above, the curvilinear roof, also of iron, being then put on the back of the cone. This is non-anatomical enough; but what shall we say of the American example? There we have the whole great visible pile (No. 286), 140 feet in diameter at the base of the podium, 90 feet in diameter at the dome-roof, and 220 feet high from the general parapet level of the building to the head of the crowning statue, literally all of iron, designed by the engineer to accommodate the architect's profile with a guileless audacity which leaves all other shams in the wide architectural world at an immeasurable distance. In this instance, as in that of St. Paul's, it will be argued by many that the external proportions amply pay for the disregard of anatomical virtue; but the philosophy of architectural criticism will be held by others to reject such argument at all hazards. —Ed.]

If the position of Sir Christopher Wren as an architect were to be estimated solely from what he has done at St. Paul's, the result would probably be, that his character would stand higher as a constructive than as an artistic architect. There are, however, two buildings close by, an examination of which must considerably modify this verdict. The steeple of Bow Church is beyond all doubt the most elegant building of its class erected since the Reformation; and no Protestant church is more artistically or gracefully arranged than the interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

Like all Wren's steeples, that of Bow Church stands well on the ground; for he never was guilty of the absurdity of placing his spires astride on the portico, or thrusting them through the roof. It consists first of a plain square tower 32 ft. 6 in. wide by 83 ft. in height, above which are four storeys averaging 38 ft. each. The first, a square belfry, adorned with Ionic pilasters, is 39 ft.; the next, which includes the beautiful circular peristyle of twelve Corinthian columns, is 37; the third comprehends the small lantern, and is 38 ft. high, which is also the height of the spire, the whole making up a height of 235 ft.

There are errors of detail which probably the architect himself would have avoided in a second attempt, and, as they arose only from an imperfect knowledge of Classical details, might easily be remedied at the present day. It only wants this slight revision to harmonise what little incongruities remain, and, if it were done, this steeple

might challenge comparison with any Gothic example ever erected. Indeed, even as it now is, there is a play of light and shade, a variety of outline, and an elegance of detail, which it would be very difficult to match in any other steeple. There is no greater proof of Wren's genius than to observe that, after he had set the example, not only has no architect since his day surpassed him, but no other modern steeple can compare with this, either for beauty of outline or the appropriateness with which Classical details are applied to so novel a purpose.



177. Steeple of Bow Church. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

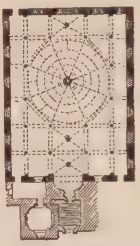
The interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, contains as much originality, and, as far as its architect was concerned, as much novelty, as the steeple of Bow. As remarked in a previous part of the work,[1] the plan of placing a circular dome on an octagonal base, supported by eight pillars, was an early and long a favourite mode of roofing in the East, and the consequent variety obtained by making the diverging aisles respectively in the ratio of 7 to 10,[2] infinitely more pleasing than the Gothic plan of doubling them, unless the height was doubled at the same time. Wren, however, is the only European architect who saw this, and availed himself of it; and stranger still is it that, though no church has been so much admired, no architect has ever copied the arrangement. Had Wren ever seen an Indian building designed on this principle, he no doubt would have carried it further; but as it is, he certainly has produced the most pleasing interior of any Renaissance church which has yet been erected. Like most of his works, it fails a little in the detail. There is too much of the feeling of Grinling Gibbon's wood-carving carried into what should be constructive ornament; but, notwithstanding this slight defect, there is a cheerfulness, an elegance, and appropriateness about the interior which pleases every one, and which might be carried even further, if desired.

It is extremely difficult for us to know now what influences were brought to bear on Wren in making his designs; but it seems unaccountable that the architect who could design Bow steeple and

[1] 'History of Architecture,' vol. ii. p. 556.

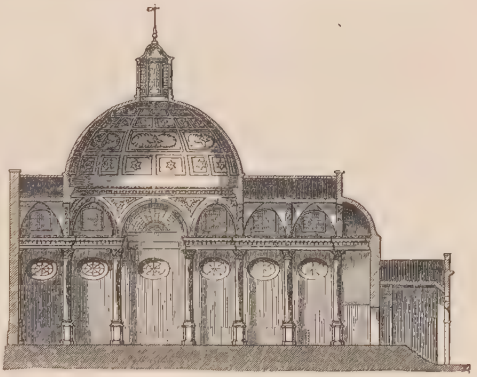
[2] More correctly 7 to 9·8.

the interior of St. Stephen's should have added to the former a church which is an ill-designed barn outside, and is paltry and overloaded to the last degree inside. Had he joined such an interior as that of St. Stephen's to his steeple in Cheapside, he would have produced a design that would have raised his character as an artist higher than anything he did at St. Paul's; and had any architect the courage to do so now, with such modifications as would naturally suggest themselves, we might have a church as beautiful, and far more appropriate to Protestant worship, than any of the Gothic designs recently erected.



178. Plan of St Stephen's, Walbrook. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.

St. Bride's, Fleet Street, is another of Sir Christopher's most admired designs for a steeple. It wants, however, the poetry and the evidence of careful elaboration which characterise its rival of Cheapside. There is something common-place in the five upper storeys, each more or less a repetition of the one below it, and without any apparent connection. It is impossible to avoid the idea that they might all sink into one another, and shut up like the slides of a telescope. A console, a buttress, a sloping roof,—anything, in short—between the storeys, would have remedied this; and could so easily have been applied then—could, indeed, now—that it is wonderful that some such expedient escaped the attention of so great and so constructive an architect. Wren conquered this difficulty with perfect success at Bow church, but all subsequent architects have failed in reconciling the horizontal lines of Classical with the aspiring forms of Gothic Art, and, as in the case of of St. Bride's, been unsuccessful in fusing together the two opposing systems.



179. Section of the Interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

Externally the church is not remarkable for anything but its simplicity and absence of pretension; and internally the design is considerably marred by the necessity of introducing galleries on each side—a difficulty which no Classic or Gothic architect has yet fairly grappled with and conquered. Here the coupled columns which run through and support the arches of the roof are amply sufficient for the purpose, and the dwarf pilasters that are attached to them to carry the galleries tell the story with sufficient distinctness. But it

makes a very thick and heavy pier below, which impedes vision more than is desirable, and the rear column that runs through the floor of the gallery has a very disjointed and awkward appearance. Notwithstanding these defects, it is a well-lighted, commodious, and appropriate Protestant church, which has seldom been surpassed in these respects, unless it is by St. James's, Piccadilly, which is another and somewhat similar design by the same architect.

The two are, as nearly as may be, of the same area—St. Bride's being 99 ft. long by 58 wide, St. James's 86 by 67, which is more appropriate for an auditorium; and the square pier which supports the gallery, and the single column that stands on it to carry the roof, is not only a more artistic, but a more convenient arrangement than



180. View of the Interior of St. James's, Piccadilly.

the other. Its greatest merit, however, is the mode in which the roof is constructed; first as a piece of carpentry, but more as an appropriate mode of getting height and light with a pleasing variety of form. After St. Stephen's, Walbrook, it is Wren's most successful interior; and, though the church is disfigured by a hideous east window and an objectionable reredos, and many of its minor details are unpleasing, it is one of the very best interiors of its class that we possess.

There are few of Wren's other churches in the city of London which do not show some good points of detail—some ingenious means of getting over the difficulties of site or destination, and not one showing any faults of construction or useless display of unnecessary adjuncts; but scarcely any of them are so remarkable as designs as to admit

of being illustrated in a general history; and, without illustrations, a mere enumeration of names and peculiarities is as tedious as it is uninteresting.

Although Wren, like most of his contemporaries, affected to despise the style of our ancestors, he seems occasionally to have been subjected to the same kind of pressure as is sometimes applied to Gothic architects at the present day, and forced to build in what he considered the barbarian style. When this was the case, he certainly showed to immense advantage; for though the details of his Gothic works are always more or less open to criticism, the spirit of his work was always excellent, and he caught the meaning of the Gothic design as truly as many of the most proficient of our living architects have been able to do.

One of the most successful of such designs is the tower of St. Michael's, Cornhill, which is exceedingly rich and bold. The church attached to it was one of Wren's best designs internally. Considering the difficulties inherent in the locality, which admitted of its being lighted only from one side, it was as light and cheerful as it was elegant. Within the last few years it has been converted into the bastard Italian Gothic, which is so great a favourite with some architects, but which accords neither with the locality nor the tower, nor those features of the church which it has been impossible to disguise. The result has been that Wren's work is entirely destroyed, and is replaced by an interior whose principal characteristic is a curious combination between tawdriness and gloom.

A more successful design than even St. Michael's was the spire of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, which, though not so strictly Mediæval in its details as to attain perfection as a counterfeit, is still sufficiently imitative for effect; and the spire which crowns the whole, resting on four arches, possesses more elegance than the specimen at Newcastle which is said to have suggested it, or than any other examples of this peculiar type which have come down to us from the Middle Ages.

The western towers of Westminster Abbey are generally ascribed to Wren, and their proportions are perfect, though their details deviate more from the Gothic type than is the case with either of the examples last quoted. If they are really his—though this is more than doubtful—this was a singular mistake for such an architect to make; for, being here joined to a really old Gothic building, the contrast is painfully apparent, and a more exact imitation would have been most desirable.

The tower which Wren added to the parish church at Warwick is another example of how he caught the spirit while despising the details of the style. At a distance it seems one of the best-proportioned Gothic towers that can be found. On a close examination the details are all so completely Classic that, whether it is from the

prejudices of education or any real or essential incongruity, we are offended at having been cheated into admiration, and feel inclined to put the whole down as a specimen of bad taste.

Besides the churches which he built, Wren had the good fortune to be called upon to erect more Royal palaces than any architect since his day; but he was far from being so successful with them as with his ecclesiastical buildings.

That which he erected at Winchester is little better than a great brick barrack, to which purpose it is now most appropriately applied. It possesses a portico of six Corinthian columns in the centre, and some very attenuated specimens of the same family in the angles, which are an attic taller than those they flank; but neither seem to belong to the building to which they are attached.

He was more successful at Hampton Court, though here the basement is too low, especially in the courtyard; and the dignity of the "bel étage" is destroyed by the circular windows over the principal ones, and, where Orders are introduced, they are merely as ornaments, and overpowered by the attic that crowns them. The great merit of this design is its largeness, and being devoid of all affectation. From the possession of the first quality, it contrasts favourably with Wolsey's palace, to which it is attached. Neither is of the best age of its peculiar style, nor perhaps the best of its age; but there is a littleness and confusion about the Gothic, as compared with the simplicity and grandeur of the Classic, which is altogether in favour of the latter. When, however, the earlier design is looked into, it displays an amount of thought and adaptation to its uses which is wholly wanting in the Classic. Wren's design looks as if it could have been made in a day,—Wolsey's bears the impress of long and patient thought applied during the whole time it was in execution; and though, therefore, the conception of the first is grander, the ultimate impression derived from the latter is more satisfactory and more permanent.

The less said about Chelsea Hospital the better. It would not be easy to find a worse building of the same dimensions anywhere; but the architect's fame is redeemed by what he did at Greenwich. The two rear blocks are certainly from his designs, and are not only of great elegance in themselves, but group most happily with the two other blocks nearer the river, the design and the partial execution of which belong to an earlier period.

As before mentioned, one of Wren's earliest works was the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford; and though externally it does not possess any great dignity, the façade is elegant and appropriate, and the introduction of any larger features would have been inappropriate and not in accordance with the two ranges of windows and other features which the necessities of the building required in other parts.

The roof was justly considered to be in that age a perfect masterpiece of scientific carpentry, covering an area 70 ft. by 80, without any support. The whole interior is arranged so scientifically, and with such judgment, that a larger number of persons can see and hear in this hall than in any similar building in the United Kingdom; and, why, consequently, neither Wren nor any one else ever thought of adapting its peculiarities to Church Architecture is not easy to explain.

The Library at Trinity College in the sister University is an equally successful though a far easier design. Practically it is not unlike the recently-erected Library of St. Geneviève at Paris, which is so much admired (Woodcut No. 144), except that there the lower storey is occupied by books,—at Cambridge by an open cloister, but



181. Neville's Court and Library, Trinity College, Cambridge. From a Photograph.

which no doubt the architect meant to be used as an extension, if ever more books were required by the College authorities. Not only is the upper storey well arranged and well lighted for the purpose for which it was intended, but externally it is a remarkably pleasing and appropriate design. The effect towards the courtyard is very much spoiled by the floor of the library being brought down as low as the springing of the arches of the arcade which supports it. Had the scale been sufficient, it would have been easy to remedy this defect by introducing smaller pillars to support the floor; but, there not being room, all that is done is to block up the tops of the arches, and it looks as if the floor had sunk to that extent; the whole design being characteristic of Wren's ingenuity and good taste, but also of his want of knowledge of the artistic principles of design.

It is singular that the architect of these two buildings should ever have erected anything so commonplace as the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane ; but it is just this inequality that is so puzzling in Wren's designs,—as, for instance, the Monument at London Bridge is one of the most successful and most Classical columns which have been erected in Europe, though their name is Legion ; but Temple Bar is, perhaps, the most unsuccessful attempt that ever was made to reproduce a Classical triumphal archway. Had Wren been regularly educated as an architect, or had he thoroughly mastered the details of the style he was using, as Inigo Jones had done, most of these incongruities would have been avoided ; and there is no reason for supposing that such an education would have cramped his genius : — on the contrary, every reason for believing that a perfect knowledge of his tools would have enabled him to work with more facility, and to avoid those errors which so frequently mar the best of his designs, and, it may be added, must inevitably vitiate the designs of any man who is practising an art based on false principles, and depending for its perfection on individual talent, and not on the immutable laws of Science.

Though he did fail sometimes, it cannot be denied that Wren was a giant in Architecture, and, considering the difficulties he had to contend with, not only from the age in which he lived, but from the people he had to deal with, and the small modicum of taste or knowledge that prevailed anywhere, we may well be astonished at what he did accomplish that was good, rather than wonder at his occasional failures. His greatest praise, however, is, that though he showed the way and smoothed the path, none of his successors have surpassed—if, indeed, any have equalled—him in what he did, though a century and a half have now elapsed since his death, and numberless opportunities have since been afforded in every department of Architectural Art.

CHAPTER III.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Anne	1702	George II.	1727
George I.	1714	George III...	1760

THE history of Architecture in England during the eighteenth century, if not characterised by anything so briliant as the career of either Jones or Wren, is marked in the beginning by the daring originality of Vanbrugh, and closes with the correct Classicality of Chambers. It is also interesting to watch during its closing years the gradual bifurcation of styles which has since divided the profession into two hostile camps, following principles diametrically opposed to each other, and, in their angry haste, diverging further and further from the true principles which alone can lead to any satisfactory result in Art.

The two men who succeeded to Wren's practice and position—Hawksmoor[1] and Vanbrugh[2]—were both born in the "Annus Mirabilis" (1666), which made the name and fortune of their great prototype. The former was his friend and pupil, and, in some instances at least, employed to carry out his designs. From what we know of the pupil's own works, we may almost certainly assert that the double spires of All Souls' College at Oxford were designed by the master. They display the same intimate appreciation of the essential qualities of Gothic Art, combined with the same disregard of its details, which characterise the towers at Warwick or in Cornhill and Wren's Gothic work generally; but in so far as poetry of conception or beauty of outline is concerned, they are infinitely preferable to most of the portals erected in Oxford even during the best age, and far surpass any of the very correct productions of the present day.

Hawksmoor was also the architect of St. George's, Bloomsbury, which is remarkable as one of the earliest of the churches with porticoes which became afterwards so fashionable. The portico here consists of six well-proportioned Corinthian pillars; but instead of pilasters at the back, he has used half-columns, which look as if they had by mistake been built into the wall, thus adding to the appear-

[1] Born 1666; died 1736.

[2] Born 1666; died 1726.

ance of uselessness these adjuncts usually suggest. The spire, which we are told is intended to realise Pliny's description of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, has at least the merit of standing on one side; and, if the houses were cleared away a little, so as to admit of its being seen, the whole would form as picturesque a group as almost any church in London.

St. Mary's Woolnoth, in Lombard Street, is another church by the same architect, but in a very different style. Here the effect is sought to be attained by bold rustication and massive forms. All the forms are original, and to them the Classical details are entirely subordinated. Internally the lighting is principally from the roof, and very successful for a church of this size, though the mode in which it is introduced is such as would hardly be applicable to one on a larger scale.

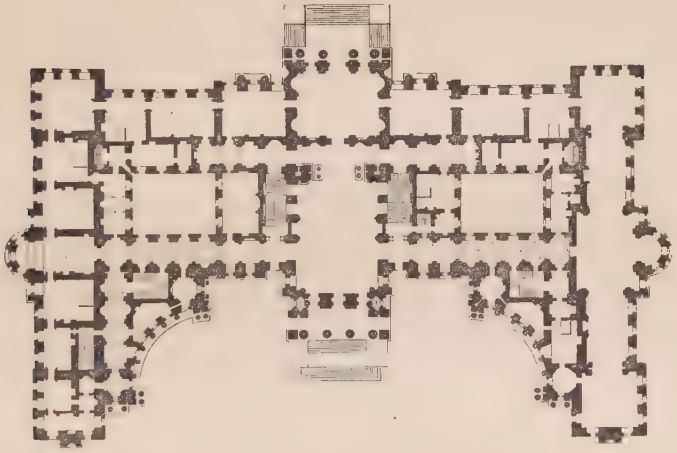
He built also the now celebrated church of St. George's-in-the-East, from the design of which almost every trace of Classicality has disappeared, and where the effect is sought to be obtained by grand massiveness of form and detail, accompanied by well-marked, and, it must be admitted, perfectly intelligible, distribution of the various parts of the composition. The result, however, is far from being satisfactory; and the term vulgar expresses more correctly the effect produced than perhaps any other epithet that could be applied to it.

It shows how unsettled men's minds were in matters of taste at this period, that an architect should have produced three such churches so utterly dissimilar in principle: the one meant to be an exact reproduction of Heathen forms; another pretending to represent what a Protestant church in the beginning of the eighteenth century should be, wholly freed from Classical allusions; and the third intermediate between the two, original in form, and only allowing the Classical details to peer through the modern design as ornaments, but not as essential parts of it. It is evident that no progress was to be hoped for in such a state of matters, and that the balance must before long turn steadily towards either originality or towards servility.

Whether Sir John Vanbrugh derived his love of ponderosity from the Dutch blood that is said to have flowed in his veins, or from some accident of taste or education, it was at least innate and overpowering. Whatever his other faults may have been, Vanbrugh had at least the merit that he knew what he wanted;—whether it was right or wrong is another question;—and he knew also how to reach what he aimed at. He never faltered in his career; and from first to last—at Blenheim and Castle Howard, as at Seaton Delaval and Grimsthorpe—there is one principle running through all his designs, and it was a worthy one—a lofty aspiration after grandeur and eternity. In a better age this might have led to infinite success; and even in his, if applied to

the construction of mausolea or temples, where accommodation was not of importance, he would certainly have surpassed all his compeers. But fate decreed that he should only build palaces or country seats, and the result has been a certain amount of gloomy grandeur, coupled with something that looks very like pretentious vulgarity.

Blenheim was to Sir John Vanbrugh what St. Paul's was to Wren —the great opportunity of his life, and the work by which he will be judged and his name handed down to posterity. Of the two, perhaps Vanbrugh's chance was the best. To build a monumental palace in a noble park, on such a scale, and backed by the nation's purse, was at least as grand an occasion as to erect a metropolitan cathedral, hampered as Wren was by liturgical difficulties and critical nobodies.

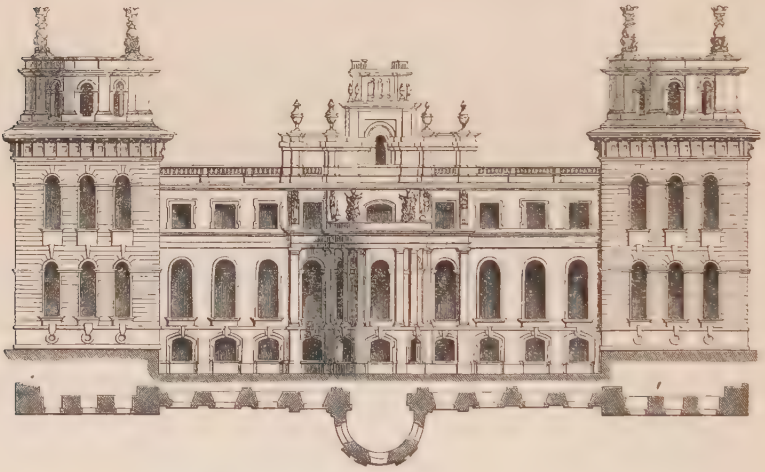


182. Plan of Blenheim Palace. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

At first sight Vanbrugh would seem to have been quite equal to the task. Nothing can well be grander than his plan and the general conception of the whole. There is a noble garden front, 323 ft. in extent, flanked on one side by the private apartments, on the other by a noble library 182 ft. in length, and an entrance façade with wings, curving forward so as to lead up to the grand entrance; and beyond these, great blocks of buildings containing the offices, &c., all forming part of the design, and extending to 850 ft. east and west. In designing his elevation he avoided all the faults that can be charged against Versailles, which was then the typical palace of the day, as well as the tameness which his predecessor had introduced at Winchester and at Hampton Court; yet with all this, Blenheim cannot be called successful. The principal Order is so gigantic as to dwarf everything near it; and as it everywhere covers two storeys, it is always seen to be merely an ornament. In the entrance-front

especially there is such a confusion of lines and parts as to destroy that repose so essential to grandeur, while the details are too large to admit of their being picturesque; and though the sky-line is pleasingly broken, it is by fantastic and not by constructive elements. If we add to all this that the details are always badly drawn, and generally capriciously applied, it will be easy to understand how even so grand a design may be marred.

The design of the Park front is much more successful than that of the entrance façade, its outline being simple and grand, and the angles well-accentuated by the square tower-like masses which terminate them on either hand: its one defect being the gigantic Order of the centre, which is as inappropriate as Michael Angelo's Order at



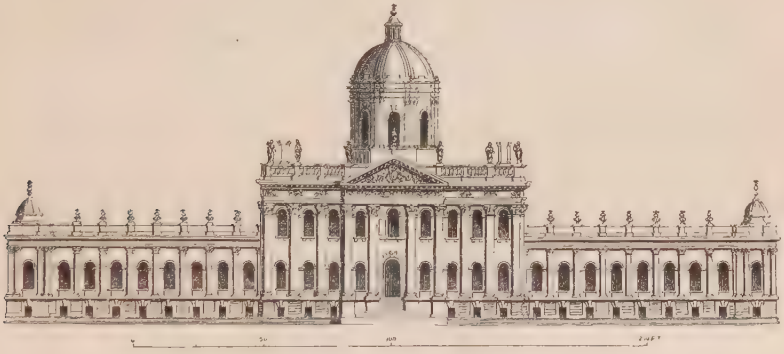
183. Lesser Garden Front, Blenheim. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

St. Peter's, and producing the same dwarfing and vulgarising effect. Perhaps the happiest part of the whole are the two lateral façades, each 192 ft. in extent. Their details may be a little too large and too coarse for Domestic Architecture, but the proportions are good, the ornaments appropriate to their situation, and the outline pleasingly broken. Their blemish is the want of apparent connection between the rusticated towers at the angles and the plain centre between them. Had the lower story of the centre been rusticated, or the rustication been omitted from the upper storey of the towers, it would have been easy to bring them into accordance; as it is, they hardly seem parts of the same design.

Internally the hall is too high for its other dimensions; and the library, which is the finest room in the house, is destroyed by the bigness and coarseness of the details. Altogether the palace looks as if it had been designed by some Brobdingnagian architect for the

residence of their little Gulliver. There are many things that recall the fact that it is meant for the residence of men of ordinary stature, and as many which make us wonder why an attempt should be made to persuade us that the inhabitants were giants.

Castle Howard is the next in importance of Vanbrugh's works, and, though erected about the same time, is a far more successful design than Blenheim. In plan it is somewhat similar, and looks almost as extensive; but being only one storey high over the greater part, it is in reality much smaller; and its defects arise principally from the fact that Vanbrugh seems to have had no idea of how to ornament a building except by the introduction of an Order, and to have had the greatest horror of placing one Order over another; hence the incongruity of his designs. If the Order of the centre is of the proper proportion, that of the wings must be too small, as the one



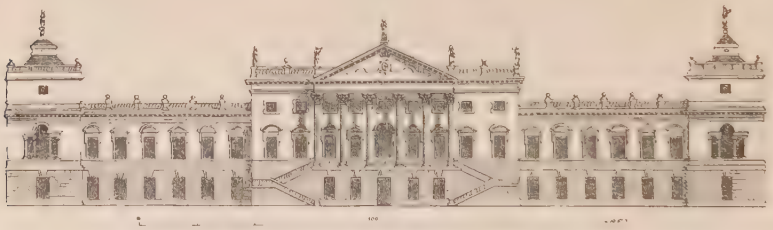
184. Elevation of Park Front of Castle Howard.

Order is as nearly as may be double the height of the other, though they are used precisely in the same manner; while from the position and size of the windows we cannot help perceiving that the rooms are of the same height throughout. At Castle Howard the whole design is much soberer and simpler than that of Blenheim. The cupola in the centre gives dignity to the whole, and breaks the sky-line much more pleasingly than the towers of the other palace. The wings and offices are more subdued; and on the whole, with all Vanbrugh's grandeur of conception, it has fewer of his faults than any other of his designs; and, taking it all in all, it would be difficult to point out a more imposing country-house possessed by any nobleman in England than this palace of the Howards.

He was much less successful in his smaller designs, such as Seaton Delaval, Eastbury, or Grimsthorpe, as in these the largeness of the parts and the coarseness of the details become perfectly offensive from the comparative smallness of the objects to which they were applied;

and, had we only these to judge from, we might pronounce him to be a successful playwright, but certainly no architect. Castle Howard and Blenheim redeem him from any such reproach, but it can hardly be said that even there he was equal to his opportunities, which were such as seldom fall to the share of an architect in this country.

Contemporary with these men was Colin Campbell, a man of no genius or originality, but of considerable taste, as is shown by his own designs, published in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' which prove at all events that he had sufficient sense to appreciate and thoroughly to understand the principles of Inigo Jones's school. The patrons of Architecture in that age seem, however, to have fancied that they had progressed beyond that stage; and as porticoes had become the fashion, nothing would go down without one. In Campbell's designs they are used with as much propriety and taste as the feature is well capable of, as applied to a dwelling-house; and he may be said to have fixed the Amresbury type as the mansion of the eighteenth century.



185. Front Elevation of Wanstead House.

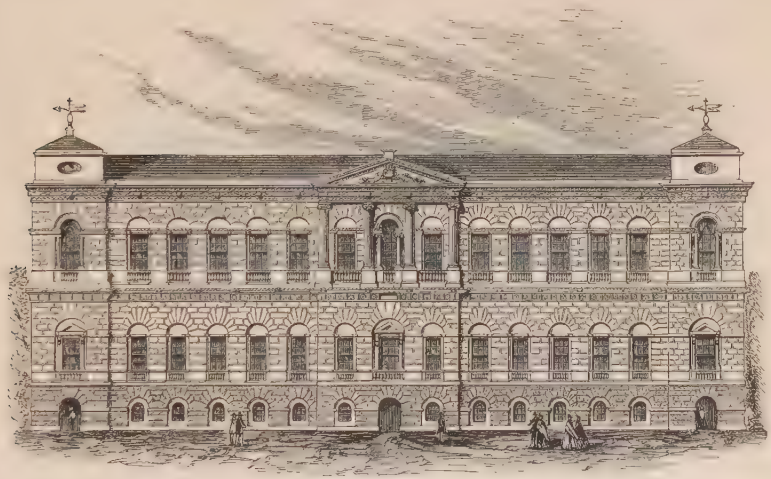
His most celebrated production was Wanstead House, which was long considered as the most perfect example of the class of porticoed houses. Though its design is certainly a mistake, still, if once people get imbued with the idea that a portico means nothing, but that it is so beautiful an object in itself that they are willing their windows should be inconveniently darkened in order that they may enjoy the dignity it confers, a portico may go anywhere, and be of any size required, but it will never cease to be an offence against all the best principles of architectural design.

The extent of the front at Wanstead was very nearly the same as that of Castle Howard (about 300 ft.); but when we compare the two it must be confessed that even the bad taste of Vanbrugh is infinitely preferable to the tameness of Campbell. His design is elegant, but no one cares to look at it a second time; and though it certainly does not offend, it can hardly be said to please.

Kent[1] was another rather famous architect, of about the same

[1] Born 1684; died 1748.

calibre as Campbell; but, fortunately for him, he was a friend of the Earl of Burlington, who was a man of taste and skilled in Architecture, so that it is difficult to know on the one hand how much of his designs should be assigned to the Earl, and on the other how far the Earl may have been assisted by the practical knowledge of his dependant. Between them they refronted Burlington House, in a manner worthy of the best Italian architects of an earlier day, and with the semi-circular colonnade in front, and the various adjuncts, made it the most elegant and artistic of all the town mansions of its time, though hardly



186. The North Front of the Treasury Buildings, as designed by Kent. The central portion only has been executed.

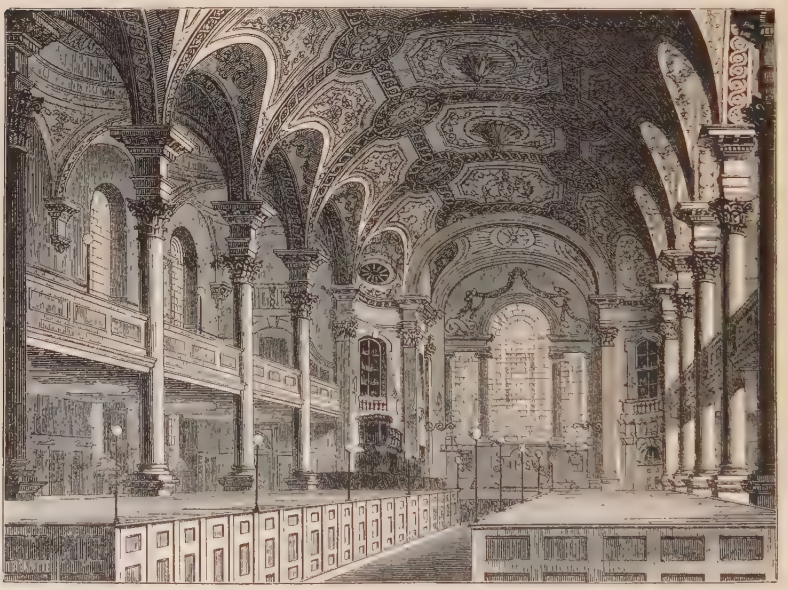
justifying all the praise that was lavished on it at the time.[1] Between them also they probably designed the northern Park front of the Treasury Buildings at Whitehall, which, if completed, would be more worthy of Inigo Jones than anything that has been done there since his time. The only design that we know to be his own is that of the Horse

[1] At present it is only remarkable as an example to show how easy it is to destroy even the best buildings by ill judged additions or alterations; an upper storey has been added, more solid and with an Order taller than that on which it stands, so as utterly to crush what was the *piano nobile* of the building; though there are fifty expedients by which this might have been avoided without any sacrifice of convenience. As if this were not enough, when a glass-roofed porch was wanted to shelter visitors to their exhibition, the Academicians, instead of using the lightest possible forms of stone-work—or iron, which would have been better—have borrowed a façade of the heaviest rusticated masonry from some Italian casemate of the eighteenth century, to support their glass frames. Not only is this an absurdity in itself, but it has cut off the lower parts and practically shortened the columns of the principal storey, already rendered insignificant by what was placed upon them.

The consequence of all this is, that what a few years ago was one of the most elegant, is now one of the very worst architectural examples of the metropolis.

Guards, which narrowly escaped being a very pleasing design, and at the time it was erected must have looked much better than it does, being now crushed by the larger and more important buildings on either hand. Its worst feature is the cupola, which is lean and insignificant to the last degree, but otherwise the design is varied and picturesque, and free from most of the errors and faults of the age in which it was erected. The design, however, would be more appropriate to a country seat of a nobleman than to that of a public building on one of the most favoured sites in the metropolis.

Whether it was that he was more fortunate, or that he had more



187. Interior View of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

genius, than the two last-named architects, James Gibbs[1] produced two buildings which gave him a higher position among the artists of his country than they can aspire to.

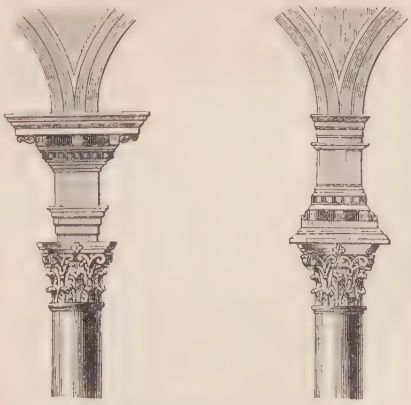
The first of these is the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which is certainly one of the finest, if not the handsomest church of its age and class. The hexastyle portico of Corinthian columns, 33 ft. in height, and two intercolumniations deep, is as perfect a reproduction of that Classical feature as can well be made; and the mode in which the pilasters are repeated all round suggests a Classical temple to a very considerable extent, if we can persuade ourselves not to observe the two storeys of windows between them, which, however, mar the effect

[1] Born 1674; died 1754.

considerably. Internally it is a combination of Sir Christopher Wren's arrangement for St. Bride's and St. James's; but overdone, and with the usual objectionable feature of a fragment of an entablature placed over each column before receiving the arch. This, as before remarked, is frequently seen in Spain, or in Italy in the worst days of the Art, though very rarely in France; but wherever it is introduced it is fatal.[1] It must also be added that the ornamentation of the roof throughout is overdone, and not in good taste. Externally, the great defect of the design is the mode in which the spire—in itself not objectionable—is set astride on the portico. Not only does it appear unmeaningly stuck through the roof, but, over so open a portico, has a most crushing and inharmonious effect. Had it been placed alongside, as at Bloomsbury, for which the situation is singularly favourable, not only would the church have reached more nearly the Classical effect to which it was aspiring, but the whole composition would have been very much improved.

Gibbs's other great work was the Radcliffe Library at Oxford. He perhaps cannot be congratulated on his choice of a circular or domical form for the purpose; but if his employers were willing to sacrifice the lower storey wholly for the sake of giving height to the building, and consented to the adoption of a form by which hardly more than half the accommodation was obtained that might otherwise have been the case, he perhaps was not to blame, as in so doing he has produced one of the most striking, and perhaps the most pleasing, of the Classical buildings to be found in Oxford. Its great fault is that nothing in the design in the least degree indicates the purpose to which it was to be applied; and even after all the sacrifices made for effect, he was obliged to introduce two ranges

[1] Had the architects only had the sense to turn the fragment topsyturvy, it would then have been constructively correct. It would, in fact, have become the Moorish horseshoe arch, and, with a very slight modification of detail, might have lost much of its offensive character, while it would have ranged as well with anything on the wall. Of course any feature invented for the place would have been better than either; but if Classical features must be used, it is best that it should be done so that they shall be as constructive as the form will admit of.



188. Diagram showing the effect of reversing the entablature in a pillar.



189. Radcliffe Library, Oxford. From a Photograph.

of windows between the columns. The proportions, however, of the whole are good, the details appropriate to their places, and well drawn, so that the building has a monumental and elegant look of which its architect might well be proud.

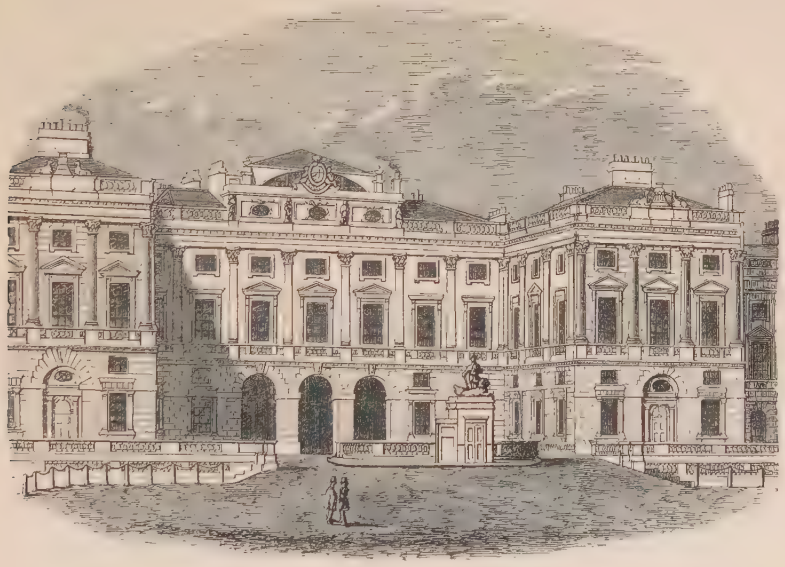
The most successful architect of the latter half of the eighteenth century was Sir William Chambers,[1] and he was fortunate in having an opportunity of displaying his talents in the erection of Somerset House, which was undoubtedly the greatest architectural work of the reign of George the Third.

The best part of the design is the north or Strand front, which is an enlarged and improved copy of a part of the old palace built by Inigo Jones,[2] and pulled down to make way for the new buildings.

[1] Born 1726; died 1796.

[2] This has a second time been more literally reproduced in the County Fire Office, Regent Street.

The width of this front is 132 ft., its height 62, or nearly one half, and it consists of a bold rusticated basement storey more than 25 ft. in height, supporting a range of three-quarter Corinthian columns, which are designed and modelled with the utmost purity and correctness; but we can hardly help regretting that two storeys of windows should be included in this Order. The arrangement, however, is so usual and so thoroughly English, that, from habit, it ceases to become offensive; and where the whole is treated with such taste, as in this instance, it seems almost unobjectionable. The three arches in the centre, which form the entrance into the courtyard, occupy quite as much of the façade as ought to be appropriated to this purpose, and constitute a sufficiently dignified approach to the courtyard beyond.



190. Southern Façade of the Northern portion of Somerset House.

The south front of this portion of the structure is also extremely pleasing; it is so broken as to give great play of light and shade, thus preventing either the details or number of parts from appearing too small for the purposes to which they are applied. The great areas, too, to the right and left of the entrance, are an immense advantage, as they allow the two sunk storeys to be added to the height of the whole.

The same praise cannot be awarded to the other sides of the court, which consist of blocks of building of 277 and 224 ft. respectively, and, being under 50 ft. in height, are proportionately much lower than the entrance-block just described, and far too low for their length. They are besides treated with a severity singularly misapplied. Except small spaces in the centre and at the extremities, the whole is

rusticated, even above the level of the upper windows. Such a mode of treatment might be excusable in an exterior of bold outline, though, even then, hardly in conjunction with a Corinthian Order; but a court-yard is necessarily a mezzo-termine between a room and an exterior, and it would generally be more excusable to treat it as if it might be roofed over, and so converted into an interior, than to design it with the cold severity which is so offensive here.

The river front, however, was Chambers's great opportunity; but it unfortunately shows how little he was equal to the task he had undertaken. To treat a southern façade nearly 600 ft. in extent, in the same manner as he had treated a northern one only 132 ft. long, would have been about as great a blunder as an architect ever made. In order to produce the same harmony of effect, he ought to have exaggerated the size of the parts in something like the same proportion; but instead of this, both the basement and the Order are between one-third and one-fourth less than those of the Strand front, though so similar as to deceive the eye. As if to make this capital defect even more apparent than it would otherwise have been, he placed a terrace 46 ft. wide, and of about two-thirds of the height of his main building, in front of it.

It is thus no wonder that it looks hardly as high, and is not more dignified than a terrace of private houses in the Regent's Park, or elsewhere. This is the more inexcusable, as he had 100 ft. of elevation available from the water's edge, without adding one inch to the height of his buildings, which was more than sufficient for architectural effect, if he had known how to use it. Even with the terrace as it is, if he had brought forward the wings, only to the edge of the terrace, and thrown his centre back 50 or 100 ft., he would have improved the court immensely,[1] and given variety and height to the river front, and then, either with a cupola or some higher feature in the centre, the worst defects of the building might have been avoided.

It was evident, however, that the imagination of Chambers could rise no higher than the conception of a square, unpoetic mass; and, although he was one of the most correct and painstaking architects of his century, we cannot regret that he was not employed in any churches of importance, and that the nobility do not seem to have patronised him to any great extent. He had evidently no grasp of mind or inventive faculty, and little knowledge of the principles of Art beyond what might be gathered from the works of Vignola and other writers with regard to the use of the Orders. This may produce correctness, but commonplace designs can be the only result, and this is really all that can be said of the works of Sir William Chambers.

[1] A somewhat similar treatment to that here indicated, was some years ago applied to the western façade by Sir James Pennethorne, with the happiest result, though, even in that limited façade, the Order is too low for its position.

The architects who, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, enjoyed the patronage of the nobility to the greatest extent, were the brothers Adam, who, after the publication by Robert[1] of his great work on Spalatro, acquired a repute for a knowledge of Classical Art which their buildings by no means justified, as in this respect they were certainly inferior even to Chambers. Their great merit—if merit it be—is, that they stamped their works with a certain amount of originality, which, had it been of a better quality, might have done something to emancipate Art from its trammels. The principal characteristic of their style was the introduction of very large windows, generally without dressings. These they frequently attempted to group,



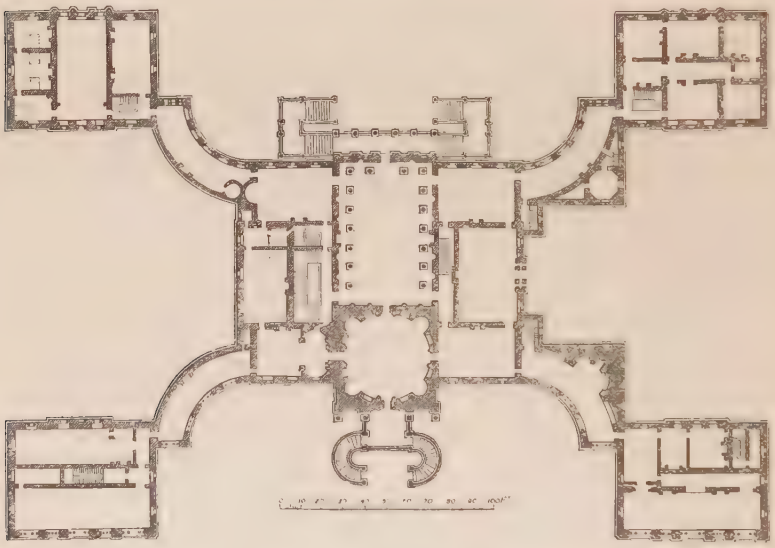
191. View of the principal Façade of the College, Edinburgh.

three or more together, by a great glazed arch over them, so as to try and make the whole side of a house look like one room! And when they did use Classical Orders or ornaments, they were of the thinnest and most tawdry class. The façade of the Assembly Rooms at Glasgow is one of the very best specimens of their style, and freer from its defects than most of their designs. In London, there is the Adelphi, so called from being the creation of the four brothers, and two sides of Fitzroy Square, where all their peculiarities come into play. They also designed Portland Place and Finsbury Square, in the latter of which their peculiar mode of fenestrations is painfully apparent.

[1] Born 1728; died 1792.

The most important public building intrusted to their care was the College at Edinburgh, the rebuilding of which was commenced in 1789, from a design by Robert Adam. Only the entrance front, however, measuring 255 ft. north and south, was completed in their day. The central court was added about forty years ago, from a design by Playfair. The part erected by Adam is four storeys in height, without the least attempt at concealment, and with a cornice at the top, the only fault of which is, that it is not sufficiently bold for its position.

The centre is pierced by three bold arches; those on the sides are each of them adorned by two monolithic pillars of the Doric Order, measuring 26 ft. in height. The whole composition of the centre is bold and ornamental, without any feature so gigantic as to crush the



102. Ground Plan of Keddlestone Hall. From the 'Vitruvius Britannicus.'

wings or to overpower the other parts. It is, unfortunately, situated in so narrow a street, that it can nowhere be properly seen; and it wants a little more ornament to catch the eye. But we possess few public buildings presenting so truthful and so well-balanced a design as this, and certainly the Adams never erected anything else which was nearly so satisfactory.

Among the country houses which they built, perhaps their most successful production is Keddlestone, in Derbyshire, chiefly remarkable for the pleasing manner in which four great blocks of buildings, which form the wings, are joined to the centre by semicircular colonnades, copied afterwards in the Government House at Calcutta. In other respects the design is according to the usual recipe—a hexastyle Corinthian portico, standing on a rusticated basement, with three

large and three bedroom windows on each side, but with the puzzling peculiarity of having no windows in the centre on either face, the hall being lighted entirely from the roof, and the only communication between the two sides of the house upstairs being by a concealed passage under the roof of the portico.[1]

Harewood House, in Yorkshire, by Carr of York, is a far better, because a more honest and straightforward specimen, of these porticoed houses of the last century. They are, in fact, so numerous and so thoroughly English and aristocratic, that one is inclined to overlook their defects of style in consequence of their respectability and the associations they call up. It is much more satisfactory to contemplate their easily understood arrangements than the ingenious puzzle of such a design as that of Holkham, where we are left to conjecture whether the noble host and hostess sleep in a bedroom 40 ft. high, or are relegated, like their guests, to a garret or an outhouse, or perhaps



193. Portion of the Garden Front of Keddlestone Hall.

may have their bedroom windows turned inwards on a lead flat. All this may suffice to display the perverse ingenuity of the architect in trying to produce a monumental whole; but both the proprietor and his guests would in the long run probably prefer rooms of appropriate dimensions, and so situated as to enjoy the view of the scenery of the park, or the fresh breezes of heaven.

There were probably at least a couple of hundred of these great manorial mansions erected in England and Scotland during the course of the eighteenth century;—more than one hundred are described and illustrated in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus.' Nine-tenths of them are of stone; one-half at least have porticoes; and all have pretensions to architectural design in one form or other. Yet among the whole of

[1] Dr. Johnson's description of this building conveys as correct an idea of its peculiarities as can well be found anywhere. "It would," he says, "do excellently well for a town-hall. The large room with the pillars would do for the judges to sit in at the assizes, the circular room for a jury-chamber, and the room above for prisoners." Boswell continues: "He thought the large room ill-lighted, and of no use but for dancing in; the bed-chambers but indifferent rooms; and that the immense sum the house had cost was injudiciously laid out."—*Boswell's Johnson, anno* 1777.

them there is not one which will stand comparison for a moment with the grandeur of the Florentine palaces, the splendour of those of Rome, or the elegance of those of Venice. Their style is the same, their dimensions are equal, their situations generally superior; but from one cause or other they have all missed the effect intended to be produced, and not one of them can now be looked upon as an entirely satisfactory specimen of Architectural Art.

Robert Taylor[1] was the architect who made a larger fortune than any of his professional brethren at the end of the last century, though, judging from his buildings at the Bank of England and elsewhere, there was very little in his art to justify the patronage that was bestowed on him. In this respect he seems to have been inferior to the city architect, Dance, who, in the Mansion House, produced a building, not certainly in the purest taste, but an effective and gorgeous design; and, before it lost the two crowning masses which



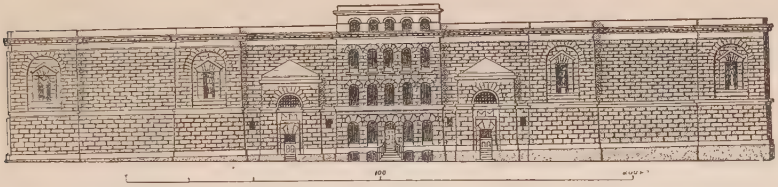
194. Façade of Holkham House.

carried the building to a height over 100 ft., it really stood proudly and well out of the surrounding masses. His chef-d'œuvre, however, was the design for the prison at Newgate, which, though only a prison, and pretending to be nothing else, is still one of the best public buildings of the metropolis.

It attained this eminence by a process which amounts as much to a discovery on the part of its architect as Columbus's celebrated invention of making an egg stand on its end. By simply setting his mind to think of the purposes to which his building was to be appropriated, without turning aside to think of Grecian temples or Gothic castles, a very second-rate architect produced a very perfect building. There is nothing in it but two great windowless blocks, each 90 ft. square, and between them a very commonplace gaoler's residence, five windows wide, and five storeys high, and two simple entrances. With these slight materials, he has made up a façade 297 ft. in extent, and satisfied every requisite of good architecture. If any architect would only design a church or palace on the same principles on which old George Dance designed Newgate, or as an

[1] Born 1714; died 1788.

engineer designs a bridge, he would be astonished to find how simple the art of Architecture is, and how easy it is to do right, and how difficult to do wrong, when honestly bent on expressing the truth, and the truth only. From what we know of Dance's character, we are led to suspect that it may have been mere ignorance that led him to do right on this occasion, but it was just this amount of ignorance which enabled every village architect in every part of England to produce those perfect churches which our cleverest and best educated architects find difficulty in copying, and scarcely even dream of surpassing.



195. Front Elevation of Newgate.

CHAPTER IV.

CLASSICAL REVIVAL IN ENGLAND.

With the commencement of the present century a new feeling came over the spirit of architectural design, which, as suggested above, it may be convenient to distinguish by the name of Revival; inasmuch as it differs essentially from the principles that guided the architects of the Renaissance.

St. Peter's and St. Paul's, though using Classical details, and these only, are still essentially Christian churches; the Escurial and Versailles are the residences of kings of the age in which they were built, and do not pretend to be anything else. No one could ever mistake St. Peter's for a Roman Temple; and Versailles is as unlike the Palace of the Cæsars as any two buildings could well be; and so it is throughout the three centuries during which the Renaissance was practised. But the Walhalla pretends to be an absolute and literal reproduction of the Parthenon; so does the Madeleine of a Roman Temple; and the architect has failed in his endeavours if you are able to detect in St. George's Hall, Liverpool, any feature which would lead you to suppose the building might not belong to the age of Augustus.

This is even more pointedly the case with the now fashionable Gothic style. The Gothic of Wren and his contemporaries was merely the last dying echo of a grand natural phenomenon which had so long been reverberating through the national mind, that it was slow to die away. The revived Gothic is more like the thunder of the stage, got up with all the best appliances of Art, and meant to strike with awe and excite admiration in the mind of the spectator; and though the true Gothic style is one of the most beautiful and perfect of man's creations, its copy has very little either of the spirit or the merit of the original. Nevertheless an architect is at once condemned if, in any of the numerous churches now being erected, he introduces any feature or omits any detail which would lead you to suspect that his building is not a church suited for the Roman Catholic ritual, and such as might have been erected during the four centuries that preceded the death of Henry VII.

The division of the architects into two separate schools, one following the pure Greek, the other the literal Gothic, is another most important feature which distinguishes the Revival from the Renaissance. It is literally impossible that any man or set of men can continuously profess to obtain two diametrically opposite sets of results, if reasoning from any one set of well-recognised principles; but when reasoning is entirely put on one side, and mere imitation substituted, it becomes easy. The architects of the Renaissance had a distinct principle before them, which was, how to adapt Classical details so as to make them subservient to modern purposes. To do this always required thought and invention on their part,—more, in fact, than they frequently could supply. If the Revival architects have a principle, it is that modern purposes should be made subservient to foregone architectural styles. As the Church, at the instigation of the Revivalists, has consented to become pseudo-Catholic in externals in order that its architects may be saved the trouble of thinking, there is now no difficulty, in so far as Ecclesiastical Architecture is concerned. When town-councillors are willing to spend money that they may be lodged like Roman senators, all is easy there too; and an architect only requires to possess a good library of illustrated works in order to qualify himself for any task he may be called upon to undertake.

It is not difficult to trace the steps by which, in this country at least, the change took place. The publication of Dawkins and Wood's 'Illustrations of Palmyra and Baalbec,' in 1750, first gave the English public a taste for Roman magnificence, undiluted by Italian design. Adam's 'Spalatro,' published ten years afterwards, increased the feeling, and gave its author an opportunity which he so strangely threw away. But the works which really and permanently affected the taste of the country were the splendid series which commenced by the publication of the first volume of Stuart's 'Athens,' in 1762, was continued by the Dilettanti Society, and, after the lapse of nearly a century, was worthily completed by the publication, in 1860, of Cockerell's 'Researches at Egina and Bassæ,' and Penrose's survey of the Parthenon in the same year.

Though Stuart practised as an architect after his return from Greece, he does not seem to have met with much patronage, nor did he then succeed in introducing his favourite style practically to his countrymen. The truth was that, with all its beauties, the Grecian Doric is singularly untractable and ill-suited to modern purposes; and, so long as the principles of the Renaissance prevailed, it could not be applied. It was, however, the beauty of this style, and the desire to possess examples of it, created by the enthusiasm which the possession of the Elgin marbles raised in this country towards everything that savoured of the age of Pericles, which eventually led

to the substitution of the principles of the Revival for those of the Renaissance.

Once the fashion was introduced it became a mania. Thirty or forty years ago no building was complete without a Doric portico, hexastyle or octastyle, prostylar or distyle in antis; and no educated man dared to confess ignorance of a great many very hard words which then became fashionable. Churches were most afflicted in this way; next to these came Gaols and County Halls,—but even Railway Stations and Panoramas found their best advertisements in these sacred adjuncts; and terraces and shop-fronts thought they had attained the acmé of elegance when either a wooden or plaster caricature of a Grecian Order suggested the Classical taste of the builder. In some instances the founders were willing to forego the commonplace requisites of light and air, in order to carry out their Classical aspirations; but in nine cases out of ten a slight glance round the corner satisfies the spectator that the building is not erected to contain a statue of Jupiter or Minerva, and suffices to dispel any dread that it might be devoted to a revival of the impure worship of Heathen deities.

The whole device was, in fact, an easily-detected sham, the absurdity of which the Gothic architects were not slow in availing themselves of. "If," they said, "you can copy Grecian temples, we can copy Christian churches; if your porticoes are beautiful, they belong neither to our religion nor to our country; and your steeples are avowedly unsightly, your churches barns, and the whole a mass of incongruities. Ours are harmonious throughout, suited to Christian worship and to our climate; every part ornamental, or capable of ornament without incongruity; and all suggestive of the most appropriate associations."

The logic of this appeal was irresistible, so far at least as churches were concerned: the public admitted it at once, and were right in doing so. If copying is to be the only principle of Art,—and the Grecian architects have themselves to blame that they forged that weapon and put it into the hands of their enemies,—there is an end of the controversy. It is better to copy Gothic, when we must do so literally, than to copy Greek. But is copying the only end and aim of Art?

If it is so, it is hardly worth the while of any man of ordinary ability to think twice about the matter. Nothing either great or good was ever yet done without thought, or by mere imitation, and there seems no reason to believe that it ever will be otherwise. The only hope is that the absurdity of the present practice may lead to a reaction, and that Architecture may again become a real art, practised on some rational basis of common sense.

There are very few churches in England, built during the period of

the Revival, in the Classical styles of Architecture, inasmuch as, before the demand for extension of church accommodation began to be extensively felt, the Gothic styles had come into vogue for the purpose. It may also be added, that the churches which were then built were very much after the old pattern;—a portico, of more or less pretensions, with a spire resting on its ridge,—the only novelty introduced being that, instead of a conical spire, an egg-shaped cupola was frequently introduced as more correct; though, like most compromises, it failed in accomplishing the desired object.

The new church of St. Pancras, built between the years 1819 and 1822, may be taken as a typical example of this class, and, in its details at least, goes further to reproduce a Grecian Temple than any other church we possess. The selection of the Order employed in its construction was, however, very unfortunate, as the extreme delicacy of the Grecian Ionic is neither suited to our climate nor to so large a building as this; and details which were appropriate to an Order under 30 ft. in height, become inappropriate when applied to one a third larger. The worst feature of the whole design is, however, the steeple. The idea of putting a small Temple of the Winds on the top of a larger one was a most unfortunate way of designing a steeple, and it was a still greater solecism to place this combination over so delicate a portico as that used at St. Pancras. The introduction also of the caryatid portico on either flank, where they are crushed by the expanse of plain wall to which they are attached, was another very grave error of judgment. Putting on one side for the present all question as to the propriety of adopting Classical details for Christian purposes, it still was an unpardonable mistake to arrange in a formal monumental building of the dimensions of this church the elements of a small, elegant, and playful design, like the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, and a still greater one to select so delicate an Order for employment in our climate, to which the Roman Orders were at least more appropriate. All these causes led to St. Pancras new church being acknowledged a failure; and as it cost nearly 70,000*l.*, it contributed more than any other circumstance to hasten the reaction towards the Gothic style which was then becoming fashionable. Internally the building is very much better than it is externally. The difficulty of the galleries is conquered, as far as possible, by letting their supports stop at their under side; and all the other arrangements are such as are appropriate to a Protestant church of the first class.

There are several other churches in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, such as those at Kennington and Norwood, which aim at equal purity of Hellenism in style, though less ambitious in design and detail. They are now, however, all admitted to have failed in the attempt to amalgamate the elements of Greek Art with the require-



193. West Elevation of St. Pancras New Church.

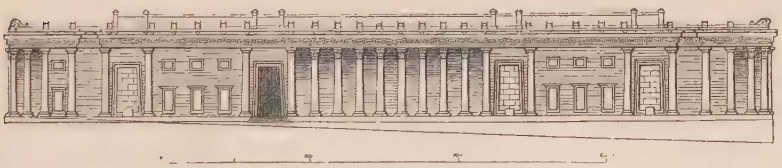
ments of a Protestant church in our climate. It is, therefore, of little use adding further criticism to what has already been passed upon them ; nor is it necessary to enumerate the churches in similar styles erected in the provinces. The fashion passed as quickly as it arose, and has scarcely left any permanent impress on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the age.

Turning to Secular Art, we find Sir John Soane[1] as one of the earliest and most successful architects of the Revival. On his return from studying in Italy, he was, in 1788, appointed architect to the Bank of England ; and during the rest of his life was occupied in carrying out the rebuilding of that institution, which was commenced there shortly after his appointment. This great design was the subject of his life-long study, and that by which posterity will judge of his talents.

[1] Born 1750 ; died 1837.

The task proposed to him on this occasion was very similar to that undertaken by Dance in designing Newgate—to produce an imposing public building without any openings towards the street. But though the latter succeeded perfectly in his design, it is very doubtful how far the same praise can be awarded to Soane.

In the first place, it was an unpardonable mistake to adopt an Order less than 30 ft. high, and standing at one angle on the ground, as the ruling feature of such a design. From the fall of the ground the Lothbury front is about 6 ft. higher,—but even then a height of 36 or 40 ft. along an unbroken front of 420 ft. is disproportioned in comparison with Dance's 50 ft. in height along a façade of 300 ft., which, besides, is broken into three well-defined masses. The mistake is the less excusable here, as the Bank was and is surrounded by buildings so high as to dwarf it still more, and to neutralise, both in appearance and in reality, that feeling of security for which the whole design has been sacrificed. It would have been so easy to remedy this, either by raising the whole on a terrace-wall, with a slight batter some 20 ft. in height,—in which case some or all of the blank windows, which are now supposed to be ornaments, might have been



197. East Elevation of the Bank of England.

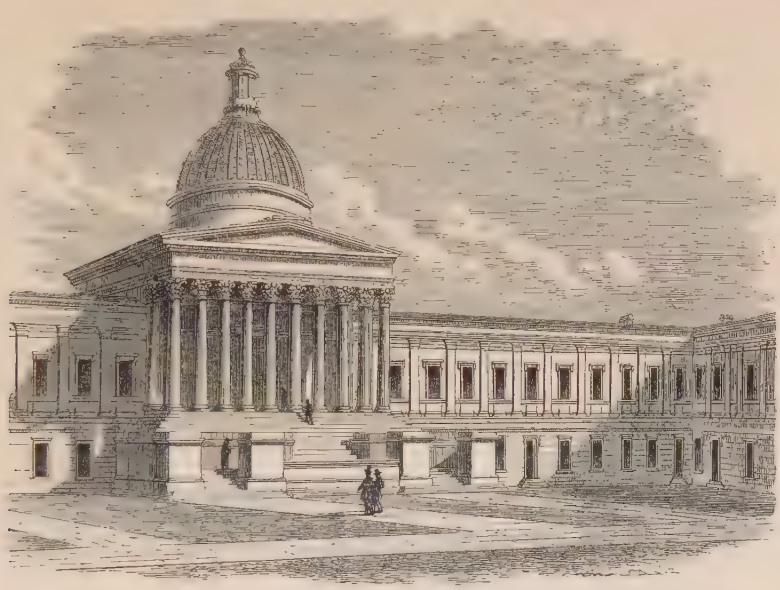
opened, to the great convenience of the occupants, as well as to the improvement of the appearance of the building externally; or he might, with a very slight alteration, have used the present block as such a terrace; and, at least over the centre of each front, have raised an upper storey, which would have given dignity and variety to the whole. After these faults of conception, the worst feature of the design is the grand entrance, which, strange to say, is only an ordinary three-storeyed dwelling-house, through two small doors on the ground floor of which you enter this grand building! On the other hand, the recessed colonnades which flank it, and ornament the centre of the eastern front, are as pleasing features for the purpose as have ever been adopted in a modern Classical building; and, if an Order was to be copied literally—which the new school insisted should be the case—Soane was fortunate in the selection of the Tivoli example for this purpose. The circular colonnade at the north-west angle is a very pleasing specimen of design, as well as most appropriate in overcoming the acuteness of the angle. But the most pleasing part of the whole is the Lothbury Court, which, though

small, and having an unfinished look in some parts, is perhaps the most elegant to be found in this country.

In the rest of the interior, as well as in most of his other designs, Soane affected an originality of form and decoration, which, not being based on any well-understood constructive principle, or any recognised form of beauty, has led to no result, and to us now appears little less than ridiculous. Still, he took so much pains, and bestowed so much thought on some of his designs,—such, for instance, as the staircase to the old House of Lords—some parts of his own house—the dome of the National Debt Office, and some others,—that it is most discouraging to find that, when a man with such talents as Soane undoubtedly possessed deviated from the beaten path, he should have been so unsuccessful. It probably may have been that he was crotchety and devoid of good sound taste; but it is a strong argument in the hands of the enemies of progress to find such a man succeeding when copying, and failing when he attempted originality.

Holland, Burton, Nash, and one or two others, formed a group of architects who certainly have left their impress on the Art of their country, though whether or not they advanced the cause of true Architecture is not quite so clear. The first-named introduced a certain picturesque mode of treating the Classical styles, which promised favourable results, and in his Carlton House certainly was effective. The last-named was in feeling a landscape-gardener, and carried Holland's principles to their extremest verge. The three devoted themselves more especially to Street and Domestic Architecture; and with the aid of a few columns stuck here and there, or rich window dressings and rustications in another place, and aided by the fatal facility of stucco, they managed to get over an immense amount of space with a very slight expenditure of thought. Although none of their buildings will stand the test of separate examination, to these architects is due the merit of freeing us from the dreadful monotony of the Baker Street style. We can no longer consent to live behind plain brick walls with oblong holes cut in them; and for this we cannot be too grateful.

These men were all more or less true to the old Classical school of Art, though occasionally they indulged in a little bad Gothic, and their Classical designs were more or less tinged with the feelings of the new Romantic school. Wilkins was probably the first who really aspired to pre-eminence in both styles. While he was building the severely Classical College of Downing at Cambridge, he was also building the picturesque Gothic New Court at Trinity College in the same university; and while he was erecting his chef-d'œuvre, the portico of the University College, Gower Street, he was the author of the new buildings at King's College, Cambridge. It is absurd to suppose he could be sincere in both, if he knew what Architecture was; but



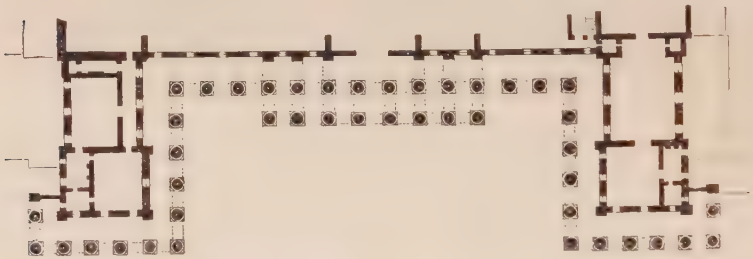
198. Portico of the London University Buildings, Gower Street.

the feelings of his heart, so far as we can judge, were towards the pure Greek ; and in the portico in Gower Street he has certainly produced the most pleasing specimen of its class which has yet been attempted in this country. The stylobate is singularly beautiful and well proportioned ; the Order itself is faultless, both in detail and as to the manner in which it stands ; and the dome sits most gracefully on the whole, and is itself as pleasing in outline and detail as any that ever was erected, in modern times at least. It is true the porch is too large for the building to which it is attached ; but this arises from the wings, which were an essential part of the original design, not having been completed. It is true also that it is useless ; but so is a Gothic steeple : and we must not apply the utilitarian test too closely to works of Art. If it were desired to make the building both monumental and ornamental, it would not be easy to do it at less cost, either in money or convenience, than is attained by the arrangement adopted at University College.

It is to be regretted that this building is so little seen, and that Wilkins's standing as an architect must generally be judged by his having had the bad fortune to obtain the prize of being chosen to erect, in the National Gallery, one of our largest public buildings, and on the finest site in the metropolis. Unfortunately for his fame the prize was coupled with such conditions as to render success nearly impossible. The money allotted to the purpose was scarcely one-half of what was necessary ; he was ordered to take and use the pillars of

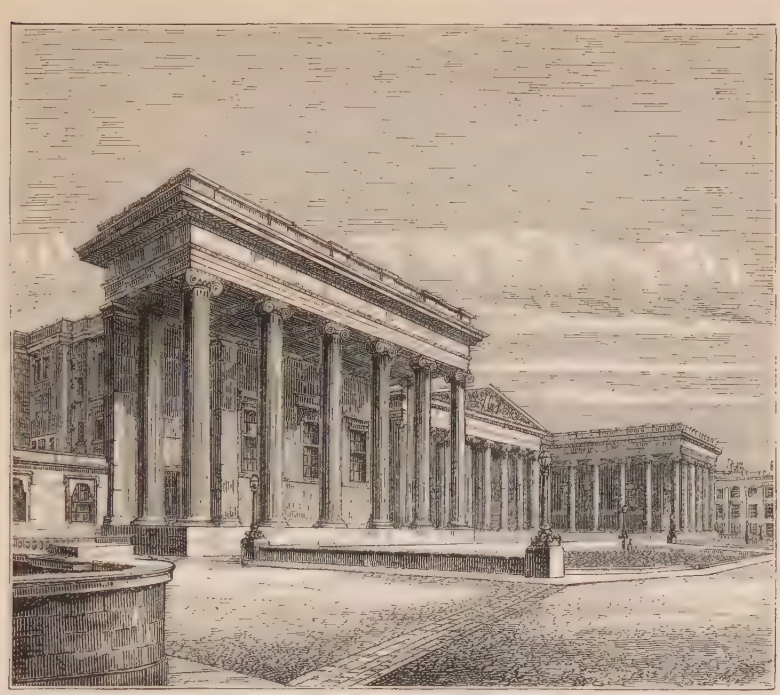
the portico of Carlton House; to set back the wings, so as not to hide St. Martin's Church; and, lastly, to allow two thoroughfares through it! He failed, and we pay the penalty. And most justly so; because we know that Wilkins had talent enough to erect a creditable building if he had had fair play; but the public thought proper to impose conditions which rendered his doing so next to impossible. The sad result to the architect is well known; but on a fair review of the circumstances it does not appear that he was to blame for the painful failure in Trafalgar Square.

If the British Museum is not more successful than the National Gallery, it certainly is not so from the same causes. No architect ever had a fairer chance than Sir Robert Smirke had here. The ground was free of all encumbrances; the design long and carefully elaborated before execution; and money supplied without stint. If the buildings there have cost a million sterling, which is under the mark, it is no exaggeration to say that half that sum at least has been



199. Plan of the Portico of the British Museum. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

spent in ornament and ornamental arrangements, and at such detriment to convenience that already they are being abandoned, in spite of the money which has been wasted upon them. The courtyard to which the whole building was sacrificed is already gone, and the portico is voted a public nuisance; though it will not be so easily got rid of as the other. Nothing, in fact, can well be more absurd than forty-four useless columns, following the sinuosities of a modern façade, and finishing round the corner;—not because the design is complete—for, according to the theory on which the portico is designed, they ought to be continued along both flanks,—or because they abut on any building,—but simply because the expense would not allow of its being carried further. At the same time, almost as if to prove how conducive to want of thought this system of designing is, the principal staircase of the Museum, lighted from the roof, is placed to the north in a situation which affords the best light for a sculpture gallery of any in the Museum; and a sculpture gallery, lighted by side windows, is placed facing the south, where its light is almost entirely shut out by the shadows of the portico. Even if



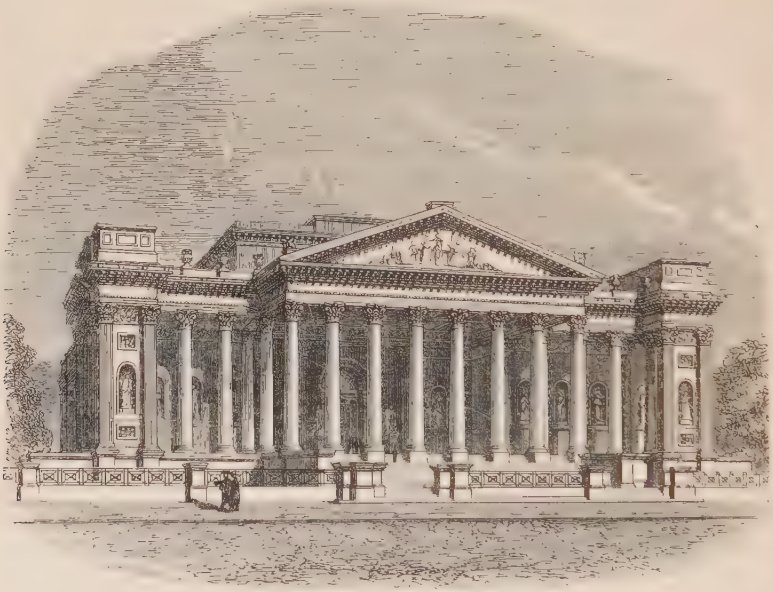
290. Façade of the British Museum. From a Photograph.

it is contended that this is a pleasing object in itself, it can only be considered as a nuisance and an absurdity in the situation in which it is placed. As if to make matters worse, a splendid "grille" has been erected in front, so high and so near the spectator, that, as seen from the street, the iron wall is higher and more important than the colonnade. Had the grille been carried back between the two wings of the portico, it would have been pleasing and appropriate. Where it is, its only effect is that of dwarfing what is already too low.

Most of the faults of the British Museum portico were avoided by Sir W. Tite in his design for the Royal Exchange, which was being erected about the same time. There the portico occupies nearly the whole of the west end of the edifice, and is practically a dignified and well-proportioned entrance to the great hall, or courtyard, which is the main feature of the building, and the real purpose for which it was erected. The Order, too, is carried all round the building; and, though it is of course somewhat absurd to have a range of small shops below, and office windows above, under this templar ordinance, it is wonderful how use reconciles us to it, and throws a dignity about the whole building which could not so easily be attained with smaller parts. The design is, in fact, the same as that of the church

of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, on a larger scale, and with this improvement, that the spire, instead of being astride on the portico, is placed at the further end of the building, but where it ought to have been very much larger and more important to be suited to its situation. The real defect of the whole, however, is that a Christian church and an Exchange for merchants should be practically the same design—and that, an attempt to look like a Roman temple, and not anything belonging either to our own age or our own country.

Mr. Cockerell's design, which was prepared in competition with this one, avoided most of these faults, though running into others. His idea of a façade was a Roman triumphal arch, which is certainly



201. Front View of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

more appropriate than a simple pillared porch; but the result was feeble, and deficient in light and shade, though elegant of course in detail. It never occurred to either of these architects that it might be possible to forget Rome, and think only of London with its climate and its wants.

The portico which Basevi erected in front of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is very much of the same useless character as that at the British Museum, but much less objectionable: in the first place, because more elegant in detail and better proportioned; in the next, because it does terminate naturally at both ends; and, lastly, because evidently only a Classical screen to hide a building nearly as ornamental behind. A screen is always of course objec-

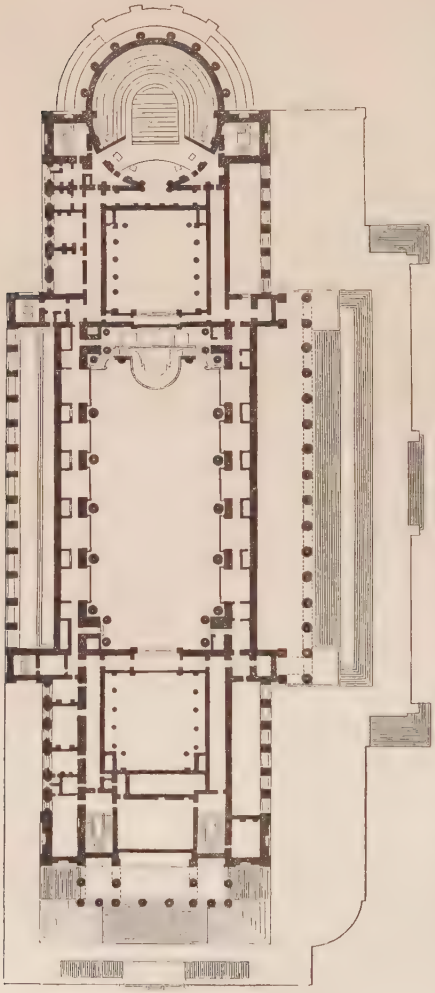
tionable in Art; but if it is determined that the building shall reproduce the effect of a pre-Christian temple or hall, it is perhaps better to cut the difficulty by this means at once, than to attempt to mix the ancient and modern together in the hope of producing a deception which very seldom can be successful.

At the same time it must be confessed that such a portico as this is so elegant in its arrangement and detail that the temptation to employ it could hardly be resisted. Even the Mediæval architects produced nothing which in itself so completely satisfies all the conditions of good architecture. Take, for instance, the façade of the Cathedral at Peterborough,[1] which is the Gothic portico that most nearly resembles this one, and is one of the most beautiful productions of Mediæval Art. If it were erected on the opposite side of the street, with similar dimensions to Basevi's portico, as a façade to a Gothic natural history museum, the incongruity would be the same, but the two styles fairly pitted against each other. If asked to choose between the two, fifty years ago, probably nine out of ten educated men would have declared for the Classical example. At present the preponderance would probably be the other way, bnt few would perceive that there was a "tertium quid" better than either. The real defect of the Cambridge portico, as of that of the sister example in Bloomsbury, is that they are expensive shams. Had Mr. Basevi set himself down to design a really appropriate façade, two, or it may be three, storeys in height, with the same money, he might have produced one of twice the superficial dimensions, and so gained immensely in dignity. With properly accentuated angles and a bold entrance in the centre, it might have been made to tell its own story; and if the cornices, stringcourses, and window-mouldings had all been elegant and well-proportioned, the effect must have been pleasing;—while grouping the openings, and interspersing them with panelling and conventional carving, might have rendered the whole a thing of permanent and ever-pleasing beauty. To do all this, however, would have required infinite thought and skill on the part of the architects of these two buildings, and after all might not have been successful till several trials had been made in the same direction, each avoiding the faults and improving on the excellences of its predecessor.

It is not thus, however, that modern buildings are designed; and till it is, we must be content to extract what crumbs of comfort we can from the more or less perfect imitations which are produced to satisfy the critical taste of the day; and of these the culminating example and most successful specimen of this style of Art in England, perhaps in Europe, is St. George's Hall, Liverpool. Its dimensions are, in the first place, superb—420 ft. in length by 140 in width—

[1] 'History of Architecture,' vol ii., p. 49 (Woodcut No. 574).

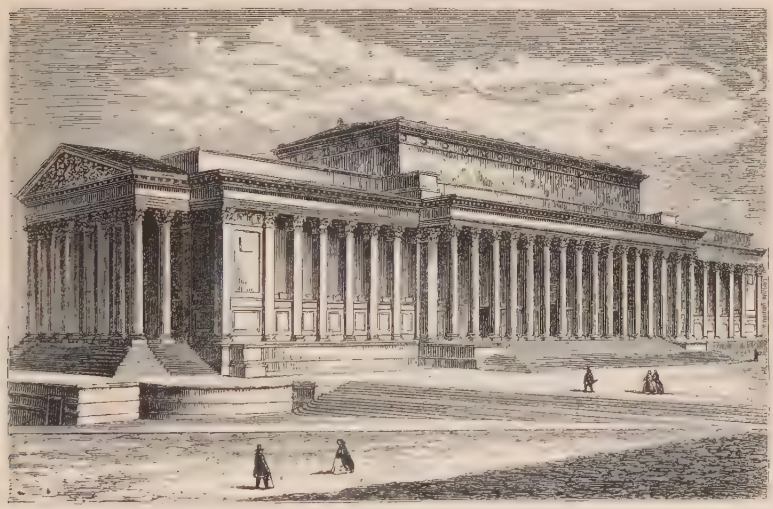
and ornamented by an Order 58 ft. in height. The centre internally is occupied by one grand hall 169 ft. in length, 85 ft. high, and 75 ft. wide, to which must be added recesses 13 ft. deep on each side. The design of this noble room is adapted from that of the great halls of the Thermæ at Rome, and its ornamentation is so rich and tasteful as to make it one of the most splendid structures in Europe. At either end are court-rooms, 60 ft. by 50, opening into it, and beyond, at one end, a concert-room 75 ft. deep. The smaller rooms that are grouped round these are so absolutely concealed on the east, north, and south sides, that they do not interfere with the Classical effect; and, on the west, though windows do appear, they are so openly and so appropriately introduced that there is no appearance of meanness on this side, or anything to detract from the splendour of the east front. The principal façade is ornamented by a portico of sixteen Corinthian columns, each 46 ft. in height; beyond which on each side is a "crypto-porticus" of five square pillars, filled up to one-third of their height by screens; the whole being of the purest and most exquisite Grecian rather than Roman detail. The effect of so simple, yet so varied a composition, extending over 400 feet, with the dimensions quoted above, is quite unrivalled, and produces an effect of grandeur unequalled by any other modern building known. The south front, with its octastyle portico, is very beautiful, but presents no remarkable features of novelty; and its principal merit is that



202. Plan of St. George's Hall, Liverpool.
Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

it groups so pleasingly with the eastern façade, and almost suggests the semicircular termination at the other end.

With these dimensions there is perhaps no other building in modern times which would enable us to compare more closely the merits of Grecian and Mediæval Art. The plan and outline of St. George's Hall is very much that of a Mediæval cathedral; and if we could fancy York, or any other cathedral, without its towers, substituted for it, we should be able to say which is the most effective. Even in height they are not dissimilar. But the one is a windowless pile, simple in outline, severe from the fewness of its parts, but satisfying the most fastidious tastes from the purity of its details. The other would be rich, varied, and far more cheerful



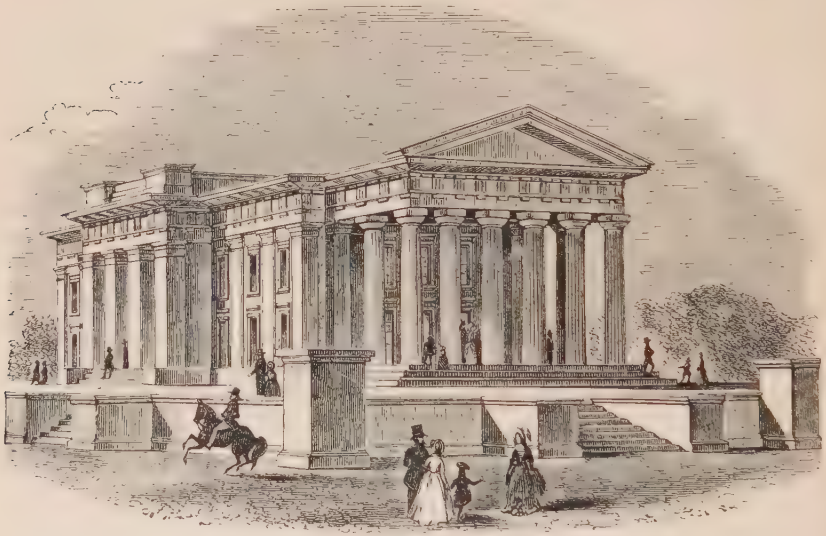
203. View of St. George's Hall, Liverpool. From a Photograph.

in appearance; depending principally on its windows for its decoration, and making up, to a great extent, for its want of purity, by the appropriateness of its details.

But here again, as in the suggested parallel between the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum and the façade of Peterborough Cathedral, the one is calculated to satisfy the demands of the best-educated and most refined taste, while the Gothic example addresses itself to a class of feelings wilder and more poetic; and though it may be as elevated, it certainly is a less pure and less intellectual form of Art.

Grange House, Hampshire, which was reconstructed from designs by Wilkins about the year 1820, is not only too characteristic an example of his taste in design, but also of the inappropriateness of the revived Grecian style as applied to Domestic Architecture. Not only do the porticoes add immensely to the expense of such a building,

without in the smallest degree increasing either its comfort or convenience, but they actually darken the windows, and suggest the arrangement of a class of buildings differing in every respect from the purposes of a nobleman's mansion in an English park. It is no wonder that a reaction soon set in against such a style as this. Wilkins's own designs in Tudor Gothic afforded far more accommodation, for the same expense, and with infinitely more appropriateness and convenience than is found in his Grecian buildings. Though fashion may at one time have induced noblemen to submit to the inconveniences of the pure Classic, the moment the Gothic became



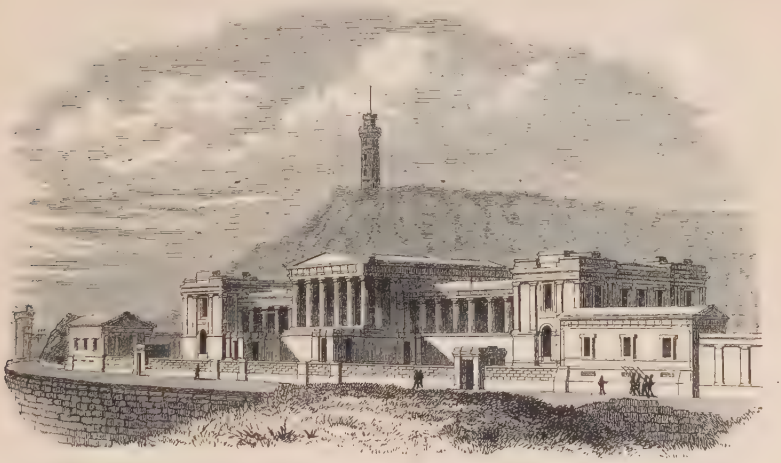
204. Grange House, Hampshire. From Knight's 'Pictorial History of England.'

as fashionable, there was an end of the first; and it is very improbable that it can ever be revived again in this country, for such purposes at least as we find it applied to at Grange.

There are several buildings in Edinburgh and Glasgow which, though on a smaller scale, must be considered as successful adaptations of Classical Architecture. The most so is perhaps the Royal Institution on the Mound at Edinburgh, where the Grecian Doric is used with a freedom, and at the same time a success, not to be found in any other example in this country. The porticoes here cover entrances; the flank colonnades are stopped against blocks which give them character and meaning; and the whole is so well proportioned as to produce a most satisfactory result. The great defect is its situation being so low as to be looked down upon from the approaches either in front or rear. From George Street the

spectator is on a level with the cornice, and so loses all effect of perspective; and from the Castle Hill he has a revelation of skylights and chimney-pots sadly destructive of the illusion produced by the purity of the external architecture. Placed on the Calton Hill, or on any height, it would have been one of the most faultless of modern buildings. Where it is, it fails entirely in producing the effect which is due to the beauty of the design.

The New High School, by Hamilton, is perhaps even a happier adaptation of the style to modern purposes, though on a less monumental scale, and with far less pretension. The situation, however, is most happy; and the adaptation of the front of the building to the site, and to the purposes to which it is applied, so successful, as almost to make us believe that it might be possible really to adapt



205. View of the New High School, Edinburgh.

Greek architecture to modern requirements. A view, however, of the building *from* the Calton Hill rather dissipates the illusion. Though there is nothing mean about it, it turns out, like the Fitzwilliam Museum, to be merely a modern building behind a Classical screen.

Such indeed seems to be the result of all our modern experience in this direction. Either we must be content with good honest two or three storeyed buildings, like the Paris Bourse, the Liverpool Custom-house, or the Leeds Town-hall, adding columns to as great an extent as the front will admit of, and then, like the pheasants with their heads in the brake, trust to no one perceiving that the pillars are not all in all, but that the windows mean something; or we must go to great expense to put up screens and to hide our modern necessities, and hope no one will find us out. This has been nearly accomplished

at St. George's Hall, but hardly anywhere else; and after all, supposing it successful, is this an aim worthy of the most truthful and mechanical of the Arts?

Something more nearly successful than any of the buildings just quoted, was accomplished by the late Sir James Pennethorne, in the buildings he erected in Burlington Gardens to accommodate the London University. The details throughout are severely Classical, and the form sufficiently monumental for the situation or the purposes to which the building is dedicated, that there is nothing about the building which can be called a sham, or anything that can even be reproached as suggesting a falsehood. The two great halls in the wings, which are appropriately lighted from their upper storeys, enabled him to get repose and dignity in an unpierced basement, and the requisite



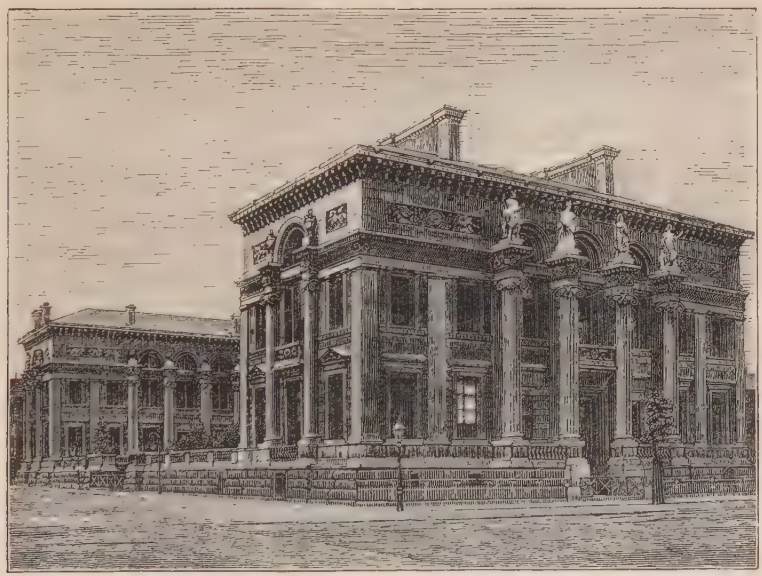
206. New Building for the London University, Burlington Gardens.

support to the centre containing the council-room and other state apartments of the building. All this is expressed in the exterior as truthfully as in any mediæval building, and with an elegance that satisfies the most refined taste. The portico is perhaps the least successful part of the design, but its use is obvious, and there is nothing about it which seriously detracts from the beauty of the whole design.

Had he lived under a happier constellation, Cockerell would perhaps have done more than any of the architects of the last generation to raise the taste of his countrymen. By birth and education, but more than either by feeling, he was one of the most refined gentlemen of his day. Bad taste and vulgarity were impossible with him, though unfortunately errors of judgment were not only possible, but almost inherent in the line of design which he adopted. In youth he travelled much, and resided long in Greece, so that it is little to be wondered at, that a student of his bent of mind became so deeply enamoured with

the Arts of that Classic land that he never afterwards abandoned them. Gothic made him shudder, and even Italian was not sufficiently refined for his taste. Had he lived at the present day we should probably never have heard of his name; but at the time he commenced practice the country still retained enough of the expiring taste for Grecian art to give him a chance, and he has left behind him some beautiful monuments, but unfortunately all more or less deformed from the vain attempt to reconcile modern feelings and wants with the inflexible purity of Classic forms.

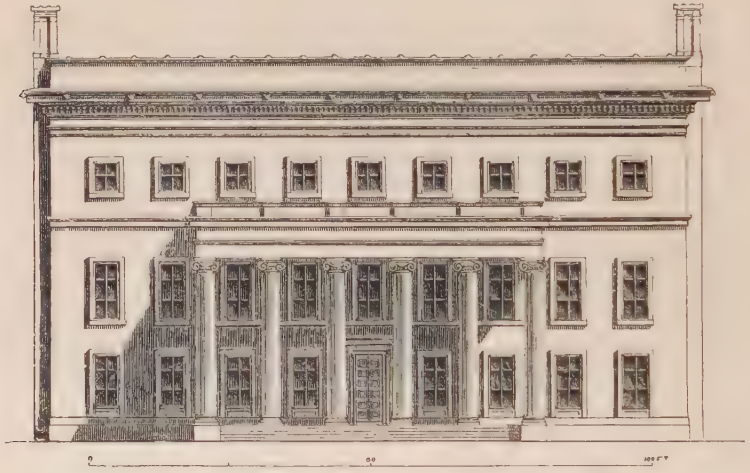
As architect to the Bank of England, he erected branch houses for it in most of the great commercial centres in England. These are all



207. Taylor and Randolph Institute, Oxford. From a Photograph.

elegant buildings appropriate to their purposes, and with nothing about them that can be called shams. But there are many things—like the idle three-quarter pillars—one would like to see omitted and replaced with some more appropriate. But of his commercial buildings the most successful is the Sun Fire Office, at the corner of Threadneedle Street and Nicholas Lane, a design which he afterwards repeated, though with considerable variations, in the Exchange buildings, Liverpool. Nothing in the City is more elegant and appropriate than this. The upper range of columns gives lightness and variety just where it is wanted, and the cornice is well proportioned to the whole. The angles, too, are well accentuated; and it need hardly be added all the details most elegant.

Of his other buildings, perhaps the most important was the Taylor and Randolph Institute at Oxford. It consists of two wings, three storeys in height, connected by a long gallery of singularly elegant and Classic design. But as this has no apparent windows, and is lower than the wings, it certainly is a mistake; so, too, is the mode in which the windows of the upper storey break through and interrupt the lines of the principal cornice. In spite, however, of these and other defects which could be pointed out, there is perhaps no building in England on which the refined student of Architecture can dwell with so much pleasure. There is not a moulding or chisel mark anywhere which is not the result of deep study, guided by refined feeling. If there are errors in design, inseparable from the problem he was trying to solve, there are so few in detail, that it is quite refreshing, among the barbarism of both ancient and modern Gothic Art in that city, to be able to dwell on something so pure and elegant as this.

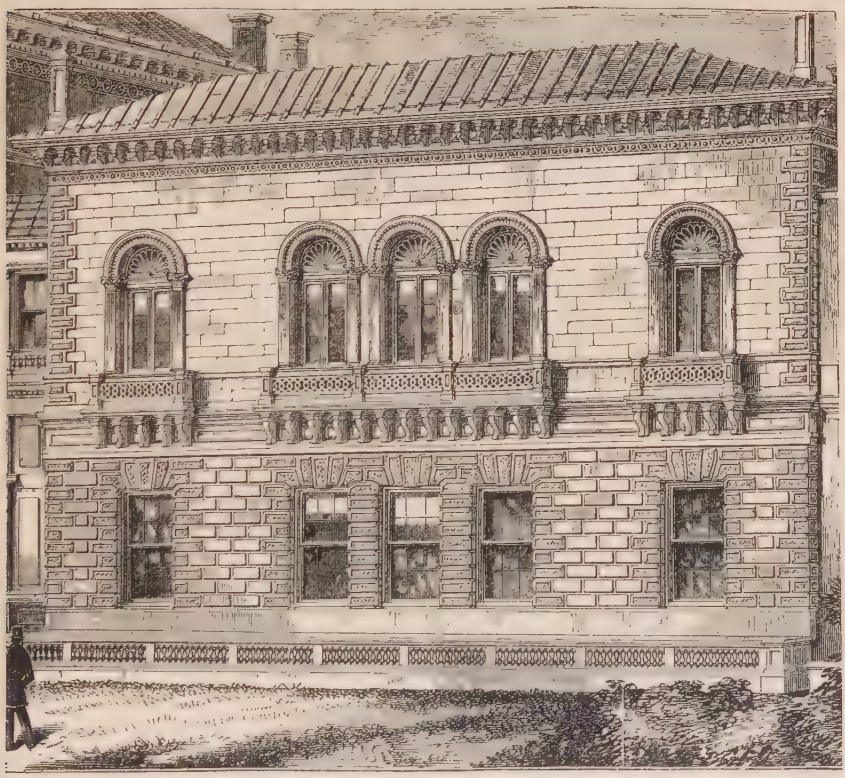


208. Façade of the College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Sir Charles Barry was almost the only one of the architects of the Revival who seems to have perceived the hopelessness of the path they were pursuing; and if he had been left to follow the bent of his own genius, would probably have set an example that would have had the greatest influence on the style of Art in this country. One of his earliest works was remodelling the façade of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He found it with a very commonplace portico running through two storeys, and with an attic above. Instead of trying merely to improve this, he boldly placed a cornicione over the whole, thus reducing the portico to the position of a mere adjunct, and making the whole three storeys part of one great consentaneous design. The attempt was so successful, and so like a great discovery, that the

wonder is that an attic was ever introduced afterwards; but it is not the province of architects to think at the present day, and, though more rarely than formerly, attics are still introduced.

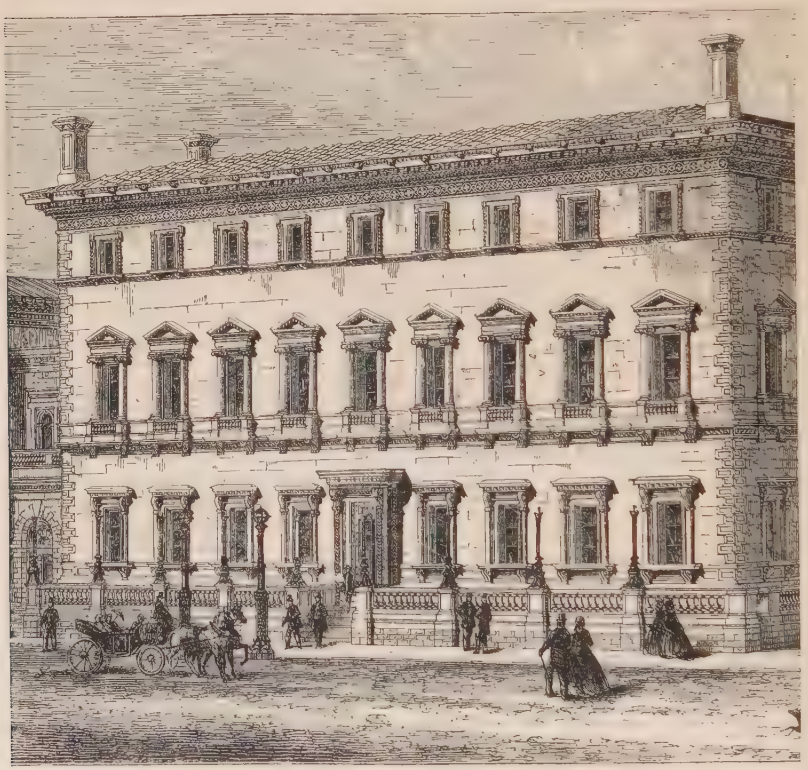
His next and even more successful design was the southern front of the Travellers' Club, where, by simply grouping the central windows together, and allowing sufficient space between them and those on either hand to give an idea of solidity and repose, he produced one of the most appropriate designs of modern times—so good, that it must have been pleasing even without ornament; but this, too, was applied



209. Southern Façade of Travellers' Club House. From 'Memoir of Sir C. Barry,' by his Son.

so judiciously and elegantly, that none of the succeeding designs of club-houses have surpassed this. The northern façade is not so happy. Its main features are copied from those of the Pandolfini Palace at Florence, thus showing not only how easily a modern architect could surpass even so famed a one as Raphael, who is said to have been the author of this design, but also how fatal it is even in such a case as this to copy instead of thinking. His Reform Club was more ambitious and less happy, in consequence of a rather too great leaning towards the

Farnese Palace, which suggested the motivo for the design. The windows are consequently too small for this climate, and the cornicione too solid for the range of windows immediately under it. There is also a degree of monotony in the equal spacing of the windows throughout the two principal façades, which would only be excusable in buildings of a more monumental class than this one can pretend to. The consequence is that the western end, though it can hardly be seen, is by far the most pleasing of the external façades of this Club.



210. Northern Façade of Reform Club. From Sir C. Barry's Life.

Its superiority arises simply from a slight grouping in the windows, a larger plain space being left between the central group of four and the two outer groups of two windows each. It is not much, but even this slight evidence of design goes far to satisfy the mind.

Most of the defects of the Reform Club were remedied by him subsequently, when superintending the erection of Bridgewater House, which is very similar in size and arrangements, and shows how much can be done by a little grouping of the windows and taste in the details with the usual elements of an English nobleman's house, without the

useless porticoes which the previous century thought such indispensable adjuncts.

In the interior of both these buildings Sir Charles Barry introduced a modification of the Italian Cortile, which was a new feature in buildings in this country, but one perfectly legitimate, and capable of the most pleasing effects. As before remarked, the Cortile is a "mezzo termine" between the architecture of the exterior and that of the rooms in the interior; and an architect is perfectly justified in making it lean either to one side or to the other, as he may desire.

In the instances now quoted, the Cortile, being roofed over, became



211. Park Front of Bridgewater House.

a hall; and Sir Charles would have been justified in treating this feature more as a room than he did; and there can be little doubt but that after a few more trials it would have become so, and lost all trace of external architecture. As it is, these two are very pleasing specimens of as monumental a style of treatment as is compatible with internal purposes, and are as pleasing features of internal decoration as can be found in this country.

If Barry's design for the Treasury Buildings was not so successful, it was owing to the fact that the task proposed to him here was—similar to that suggested above to improve the Bank of England—to raise a low colonnaded design of Sir John Soane's on a stylobate, and

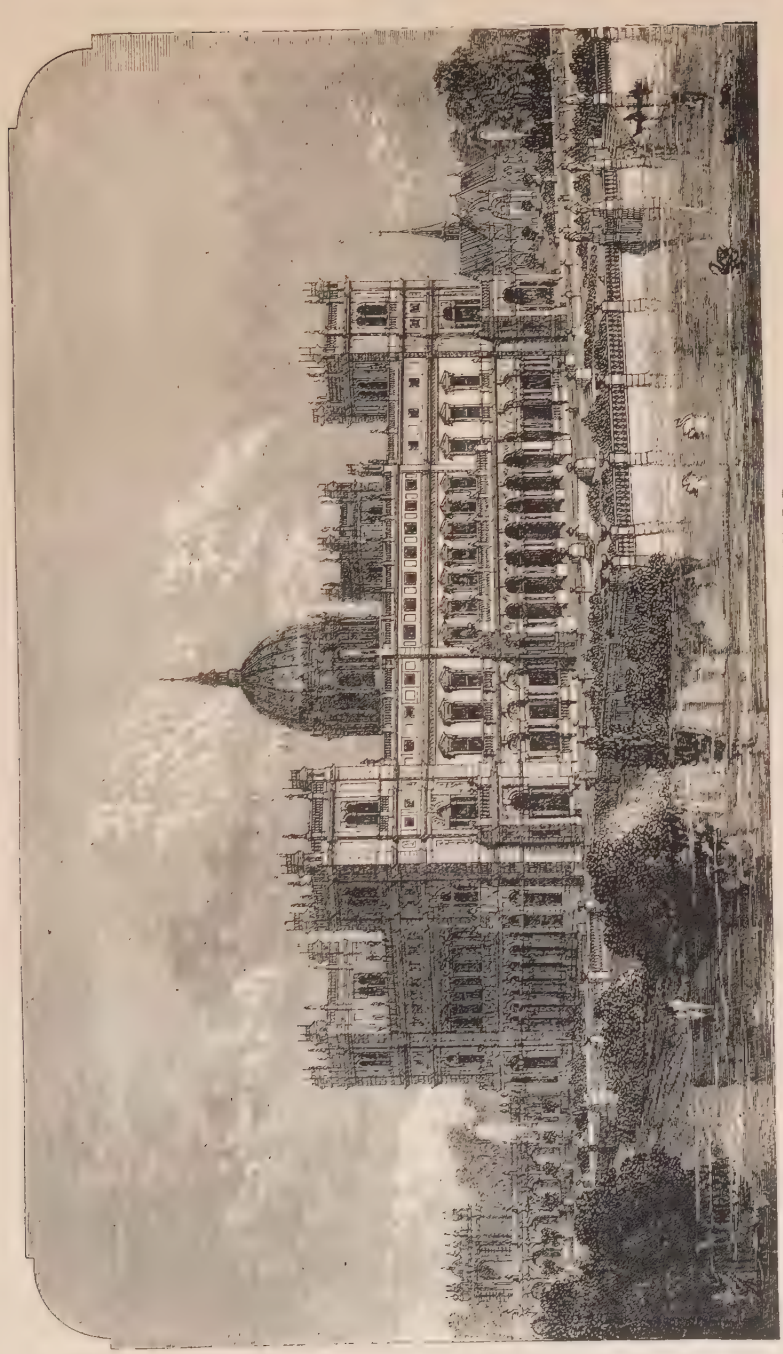
give it the height requisite for accommodation and effect. The Order and all the elements were given to Barry, and he made the best of them; but there is no doubt that he would have done better if less hampered.

While pursuing so successfully this career of introducing common sense into architectural design, Sir Charles Barry was, unluckily for his happiness and fame, chosen architect for the greatest architectural undertaking in this country since the rebuilding of St. Paul's. It was unfortunate for him, as at that time the Gothic mania had become so prevalent that Parliament determined that their New Palace should be in that style. The plea for this was that it must harmonise with Westminster Hall and the Abbey, though a greater misconception of the true elements of the problem could hardly have been conceived, for both these buildings suffer enormously from their younger and gaudier rival, and would have gained immensely by being contrasted with a modern building in another style. However large and however ornamental the latter might have been, it could not have interfered with the older buildings in any way; and both would have been great and characteristic truths, instead of one honest truthful Mediæval building being placed in juxtaposition with a mere modern imitation.

Had the architect been allowed to follow the bent of his own mind, he probably would have adopted Inigo Jones's river façade for the palace at Whitehall as the motivo of his design. It was exactly fitted, both from design and dimensions, to the situation; and with such changes as the difference of purposes required, or his own taste and exquisite knowledge of detail might have suggested, would have resulted in a palace of which we might well be proud. A dome might then have covered the central hall, instead of the spire as at present; and in that position would have been as effective as the dome of St. Paul's is, when compared with what the spire of Salisbury would have been in its place. The simple outlines of the Victoria and Clock Towers are much more suited to Italian than to Gothic details; and so, in fact, is the whole building, which is essentially Classic in form and principle, and only Gothic in detail. Being compelled to adopt the Gothic style, the building is anything but a success; for the task of producing a modern palace, with all its modern appliances, and which shall look like a building of another age, and designed for other purposes, has hitherto proved a task beyond any architect's strength to succeed in.

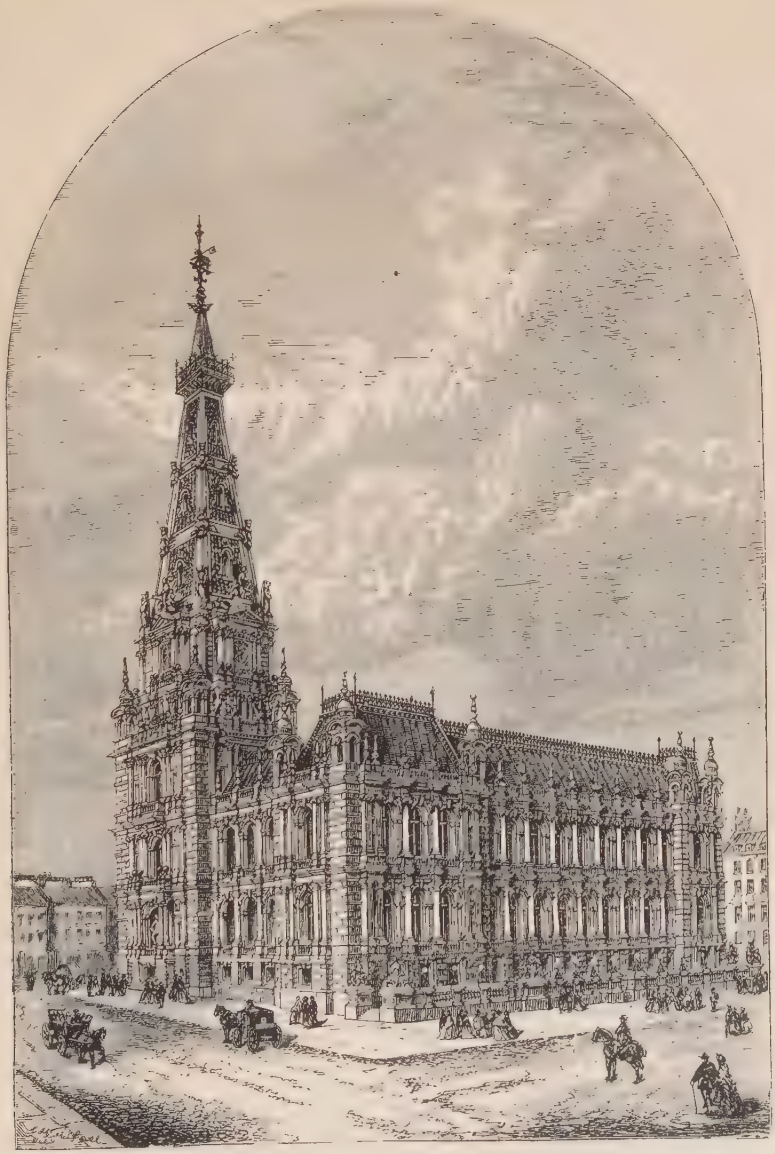
As the buildings of the Parliament Houses, however, are Gothic, they do not belong to the Classic Revival, and must in consequence be described further on, when treating of the Gothic Revival.

In the meantime, however, we may to a certain extent gather from some buildings he erected in the country what style Barry would have



212. Clumber Park, as proposed to be remodelled by Sir C. Barry.

adopted had he been left to choose his own style. Strange to say, however, notwithstanding his great practice, Barry had no opportunity of erecting any great mansions entirely from his own design. At Trentham, at Highclere or Cliefden, or at Clumber, he was called on to improve existing mansions, and to do this of course at the least possible expense. One of the most successful of these designs is that for the last-mentioned palace (Woodcut 212), which gives a good idea of his style, and on a small scale probably represents something that our Parliament Houses would have looked like had he been allowed his own way. It must, however, be borne in mind that a great part of what is shown in the last woodcut belongs to the old house, which he was not allowed to pull down, and could only modify in a limited degree, while it, to a great extent, regulated and governed his own design. The probability is that his design for the Parliament Houses would have been much richer, and, in fact, more like in style to the Halifax Town Hall, represented in the woodcut on the following page, which displays his style in a favourable light: no shams or screens, but each storey and each feature left to tell its own tale, and that with great variety and richness of detail. The least pleasing feature in this design is the spire. It is heavy and inelegant. He had much better have adopted Sir Christopher Wren's principle of steeple-building, and divided it into storeys. With his taste and facility he would no doubt have produced by that mode something far more elegant than this. But take it all in all, for its size, there are few of the modern town-halls so successful as that at Halifax, or which gives a more pleasing idea of Barry's powers of design in the style which was certainly that of his predilection.



213. Town Hall, Halifax. From 'Memoir of Sir Charles Barry,' by his Son, the Rev. Dr. Barry.

CHAPTER V.

GOTHIC REVIVAL.

The first person who, in England at least, seems to have conceived the idea of a Gothic Revival, was the celebrated Horace Walpole. He purchased the property at Strawberry Hill, in 1753, and seems shortly afterwards to have commenced rebuilding the small cottage which then stood there. The Lower Cloister was erected in 1760–61, the Beauclerc Tower and Octagon Closet in 1766, and the North Bedchamber in 1770.

We now know that these are very indifferent specimens of the true principles of Gothic Art, and are at a loss to understand how either their author or his contemporaries could ever fancy that those very queer carvings were actual reproductions of the details of York Minster or other equally celebrated buildings, from which they were supposed to have been copied. Whether correct or not, they seem to have created quite a *furore* of Mediævalism among the big-wigged gentry who strutted through the saloons, and were willing to believe the Middle Ages had been reproduced, which no doubt they were, with as much correctness as in the once celebrated tale of the 'Castle of Otranto.'

Bad as Walpole's Gothic was, it was better, according to the present definition of the *Revival*, than that which had preceded it, and was directed to a totally different result. Wren and the architects of his age, who may be taken as representing the Gothic *Renaissance*, sought to reproduce the forms and the spirit of the Gothic style, while showing the most profound contempt for its details. The new school aimed at reproducing the details, wholly regardless of either their meaning or their application. The works of Wren at St. Michael's, Cornhill, at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, or of Hawksmoor at All Saints, Oxford, all show a perfect appreciation of the aspiring and picturesque forms of the style, coupled with an ignorance of or contempt for the details, which is very offensive to our modern purists. On the other hand, the towers, the cloisters, or the library at Strawberry Hill are neither defensible, nor monastic, nor Mediæval. It is essentially the villa residence of a gentleman of fortune in the

eighteenth century, ornamented with details borrowed from the fourteenth or fifteenth.

It is very necessary to bear this distinction in mind, as it pervades all Gothic designs down to the present day; and is, in fact, the characteristic, as it is the fatal, feature of the whole system.

The fashion set by so distinguished a person as Horace Walpole was not long in finding followers, not only in domestic but in religious buildings. Although London was spared the infliction, Liverpool and other towns in Lancashire, which were then rising into importance, were adorned with a class of churches which are a wonder and a warning to all future ages. St. John's, Liverpool, may be taken as a type of the class; but it is not easy now to understand how any one could fancy that a square block with sash windows, and the details of this building, was a reproduction of the parish churches of the olden time which they saw around them. The idea at that time seems to have been that any window that was pointed, any parapet that was nicked, and any tower that had four strange-looking obelisks at its angles, was essentially Gothic; and proceeding on this system, they produced a class of buildings which, if they are not Gothic, had at least the merit of being nothing else.

The same system was carried into Domestic Architecture; and it is surprising what a number of castles were built which have nothing castellated about them, except a nicked parapet and an occasional window in the form of a cross, with a round termination at the end of each branch. This is supposed to represent a loophole for archery, but on so Brobdingnagian a scale, that the giant who could have used it could never have thrust his body into the pepper-box which was adorned in this singular manner. Generally a circular tower at each angle was thought sufficient, and frequently a little solid "guérite," about 3 ft. in diameter, attached to each angle of the parapet, represented the defensive means of these modern castles. Lambton, Lowther, Inverary, Eglinton, and fifty others, represent this class. The Adams were the greatest of these military architects, and sinned more in this way than any others. They built Colzean Castle, Ayrshire, which, from the circumstance of its situation, is one of the most successful of its class, and really a picturesque dwelling-house, though it would have been far better without its so-called Gothic details, even if Italian were substituted for them.

With the last century this wonderful style was dying out, at least if we may judge from Loudon Castle, built by Elliot, and some other specimens, where mullions were occasionally introduced, and something more like a Gothic feeling prevailed, not only in the details, but the general features of the design. The great impulse, however, that was given to the change was by Beckford, who, under very similar circumstances, repeated at Fonthill what Walpole had done at Strawberry

Hill, but with the improved knowledge which the experience of half a century had afforded.

It was about the year 1795 that Beckford was first seized with a desire to build, in the grounds of Fonthill Park, "a convent in ruins," to be a sort of pleasure-house and place of retreat. With the assistance of James Wyatt the building was very rapidly completed; but, being wholly of timber and plaster, it tumbled down before it was well finished, but only to be commenced on a larger scale, and with more durable materials. In 1807 it was so far complete that its owner went to reside in it, and the old mansion-house was abandoned. In



214. View of Fonthill Abbey, as it was in 1822.

1812 the east wing was commenced, and the works progressed with little interruption till nearly 1822, when the place was sold and dismantled, only to tumble down again and nearly to murder its new master.

During the progress of the works the greatest mystery was kept up. No one was admitted to see them, and the consequence was that when thrown open, in 1822, every one rushed to see the place, and to wonder at its almost Eastern magnificence, and the more than Eastern disregard of common sense shown in its arrangements. Most of the defects of the design arose from its being built to resemble an abbey; but that was a part of the system. It was necessary that it should be

either a church, or a castle, or a college, or something of the sort; and many of the errors in proportion arose from the expansion of its designer's ideas during the thirty years that the works were in progress. But, notwithstanding this, it was by far the most successful Gothic building of its day, more Mediæval in the picturesque irregularity of its outline, more Gothic in the correctness of its details, than any which had then been erected. With all its faults, no private residence in Europe possessed anything so splendid or more beautiful than the suite of galleries, 300 ft. in length, which ran north and south through the whole building, only interrupted by the great octagon, whose sole defect of design was that, like the dome of St. Paul's, it was too high for its other proportions, and for the apartments which led into it. Its faults either of detail or design were so infinitely less than those of any other building which had been erected at that time, that the public did not perceive them, while its beauties were so much greater, that all the world jumped at once to the conclusion of the infinite perfectibility and adaptability of Gothic Architecture to all purposes. The discovery, as it was then thought to be, was hailed with enthusiasm, and nothing was thought of or built but Gothic castles, Gothic abbeys, Gothic villas, and Gothic pigsties! Wyatt, whose fairy creation was the cause of all this hubbub, did not live to reap the benefit of it. Very few original churches or palaces are to be found of his design, but he was most extensively employed in restoring and refitting those which did exist. What he did with the cathedrals intrusted to his care we now know to have been deplorable, though he is hardly to blame for this. Classical feelings were not then dead, and men longed for Classical effects in Gothic buildings, and funds were generally so sparingly supplied that stucco had often to be employed to replace decayed stonework. But with all this, it was a good work begun, and not before it was wanted. Since that time we have become wonderfully critical, but it is mainly to Wyatt and his contemporaries that we owe the origin of the present movement, and of the work of restoration which is now being so enthusiastically carried out.[1]

Though Wilkins was evidently Classical in his art taste, he probably

[1] We are now horrified at what Wyatt did with our cathedrals, and full of wonder at the blindness of our fathers in not perceiving how wrong he was. Do we feel quite sure that our children will not be equally shocked at what we are now doing with the same buildings? Are not the honest changes made by Wyatt preferable to the forgeries of the architects of the present day? Who will in future be able to tell what was the work of our forefathers in the "great days of old," or what was concocted by a committee in a back parlour of an architect's office, and carried out, not because it was the best to be done, but because it was all their funds would admit of?

Whatever may be the case in this country, it is quite certain that the French architects of the present day are worse than all the Wyatts that ever existed since the world began; and he is lucky who saw France before the so-called work of restoration was commenced.

built more in the Gothic than in the Classical style; and although his works do not show any real grasp of the principles of Mediæval Art, his designs are free from most of the faults which are to be found in those of the architects who preceded him. He neither built abbeys nor castles for his clients to live in, nor did he ever range beyond the one form of Gothic Art which was most suitable for domestic purposes. Taking for his models the Tudor mansions which remain, especially in the Eastern Counties, he re-arranged the parts and modified the position of the details so as to suit his purposes, and to give a sufficient appearance of novelty to his designs, and generally with a fair amount of success.

The furore set in just when Nash was in the height of his fame, and in the full swing of his practice, and he too was called upon to furnish Gothic castles for his admirers. Nothing was easier. In the true spirit of a modern architect, and with all the energy of a man of business, Nash was prepared to build pagodas, pavilions, Grecian temples, Gothic churches, Gothic castles, or abbeys, suited either for suburban residences or manorial dwelling-places—anything at any price; for if stone and brick were too dear, brick noggings and lath and plaster or stucco would produce the most splendid effects at the least possible price! The things which were done in those days are wonderful in our eyes, and soon produced a reaction in favour of the present state of things; but a reaction that could hardly have been effected but for the labours of a class of artists who, though not, strictly speaking, architects themselves, have furnished the profession with the materials which they are now using with such effect.

The most remarkable among these men was John Britton, who for more than half a century laboured with most unremitting zeal in publishing the splendid series of works which bears his name. The principal of these were 'The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,' commenced in 1805, and 'The Cathedral Antiquities of England,' begun in 1814 and completed in 1835, besides some fifty or sixty other works, all bearing more or less directly on this favourite subject. To these succeeded the works of the elder Pugin, who supplied, by accurate detailed measurements, the information which Britton's works had given in a more picturesque form; Le Keux, the engraver, and a host of other men lent their aid during the first quarter of this century; so that, before the next stage was reached, not only was an architect inexcusable who did not employ correct details in his work, or who used them incorrectly, but the public had become so learned, and so fastidious, that any deviation from authority was immediately detected, and an architect guilty of this offence at once exposed and condemned.

Rickman was, perhaps, the man who did more to popularise the study than even those laborious men above named. By a simple and

easy classification he reduced to order what before was chaos to most minds; and, by elevating the study of an art into a science, he not only appealed to the best class of minds, but gave an importance and an interest to the study which it did not possess till the publication of his works.

These works, together with the experience gained during the first thirty years of this century, had laid the foundation for a perfect revival of Gothic Art, should such be desired, when an immense impulse was given to the attempt by the writings and works of the younger Pugin. He set to work to reform abuses with all the fire of a man of genius, which he undoubtedly was, and all the still fiercer intolerance of a pervert from the religion of his forefathers. According to him, whatever was modern or Protestant was detestable and accursed; whatever belonged to the Middle Ages or his new religion was beautiful and worthy of all reverence. Unfortunately for us, this simple creed had been adopted at that time by a large and most influential section of the Church of England, who, shocked at the apathy and indifference which prevailed, hit upon this expedient for rousing the clergy and recalling attention to the offices of religion. Many, like Pugin, fell victims to their own delusions, and have gone over to Rome, but not before they had leavened the whole mass with a veneration for the fourteenth century and its doings, and a pious horror for the nineteenth, in which, unfortunately, they have been born, and in which they and we must live and have our being.

If copying correctly is really the only aim and purpose of Architectural Art, Pugin had some reason on his side when he said to his co-religionists, "Let us choose the glorious epoch before the Reformation as our type, and reproduce the gorgeous effects of the Middle Ages, before the accursed light of reason destroyed the phantasma of that massive darkness." With less perfect logic he appealed to the boasted immutability of the Church; forgetting that, in so far as Architecture was concerned, it had been one series of continuous, unresting change, from the age of Constantine to this hour. During fifteen centuries "Progress in Art" had been her watchword; Pugin was the first to ask her to step backwards over the last four.

The appeal to Protestants was still more illogical. Why should we deny the Reformation? Why should we be asked to ignore all the progress made in enlightenment during the last four centuries? Why should we wish to go about wearing the mask not only of Catholics, but of Catholics of the Dark Ages? The answer was clear, though a little beside the question. You are now trying to reproduce Pagan forms and Pagan temples; why not produce Christian forms and Christian churches? It required a deeper knowledge of the subject than is possessed by most men to give a satisfactory answer to this appeal. The Classic architects themselves had introduced the

principle that copying was the only form of Art; and if men must copy, they certainly had better copy what is Christian, and what belongs to their own country, than what belongs to another country and to another religion altogether. The error was that both were only on the surface, and so completely wrong that they had no right to impugn each other's principles, and had no *point du départ* from which to reason. The consequence was that neither Pugin nor his antagonists saw to what their practices were tending. Every page of Pugin's works reiterate, "give us truth,—truth of materials, truth of construction, truth of ornamentation," &c. &c.; and yet his only aim was to produce an absolute falsehood. Had he ever succeeded to the extent his wildest dreams desired, he could only have produced so perfect a forgery that no one would have detected that a work of the nineteenth century was not one of the thirteenth or fourteenth. They have not yet, and, if there is anything in the theory of morals, they never can succeed; but there are few more melancholy reflections than that so noble and so truthful an art as Architecture should now be only practised to deceive, and that it has no higher aim than the production of a perfect deception.[1]

Notwithstanding all this there were certain obvious advantages to be gained by the introduction of Gothic Architecture in church-building in preference to Classic, which were almost certain—in the state in which matters then were—to insure its being adopted.

The first of these was, that when applied to a modern church every part could be arranged as originally designed, and every detail used for the purpose for which it was originally intended. It required, therefore, neither ability nor thought on the part of the architect to

[1] The true bent of Pugin's mind was towards the theatre, and his earliest successes achieved in reforming the scenery and decorations of the stage; and, throughout life, the theatrical was the one and the only branch of his art which he perfectly understood. The circumstance which would have brought his inherent madness earliest to a crisis would have been if he could have seen Garrick play Richard the Third in knee-breeches and a full-bottomed wig; and we cannot but regret that he died before enjoying the felicity of seeing Charles Kean perform the same character with all the perfection of stage properties which he introduced. Both these eminent men devoted their lives to the same cause, and with nearly equal success. What Kean did for the stage, Pugin did for the church. The one reproduced the drama of the Middle Ages with all the correctness and splendour with which it was represented at the Princess's Theatre, and with about the same amount of reality as the other introduced into the building and decoration of the Mediæval churches of the nineteenth century; but so enchanted was Pugin, and unfortunately many others, that they have forsaken the religion of their forefathers to enjoy the pomp and splendour of this Mediæval reproduction. It is no doubt very beautiful; but, as Protestants, perhaps we may be allowed to ask whether all this theatrical magnificence is really an essential part of the Christian religion, and whether the dresses and decorations of the Middle Ages are really indispensable for the proper celebration of Divine worship in a Protestant community in the nineteenth century?

attain appropriateness, which is one of the principal requisites of a good design.

In using the Classical style, it required the utmost skill and endless thought to make the parts or details adapt themselves even moderately well to the purposes of Modern Church Architecture. With Gothic, every shaft, every arch, every bracket was designed absolutely for the place in which to be again employed; and it was only so much the better if there were neither thought nor originality in the mode in which they were applied.

A second advantage was the almost infinite variety of forms that could be selected from Mediæval buildings, as compared with the limited *répertoire* of the Classical architect. Practically the latter was restricted to five Orders, the dimensions, the details, and the ornaments of which had been fixed immutably by long custom, and could not now be altered.

The Gothic architect, on the other hand, had windows of every shape and size, pillars of every conceivable degree of strength or tenuity, arches of every span or height, and details of every degree of plainness or elaboration. He had, in fact, a hundred Orders instead of five; and as, according to the canons now in force, he is not answerable for their elegance or beauty, his task is immensely facilitated by this richness of materials.

A third and perhaps even more important advantage of the Gothic style is its cheapness. In a Gothic building the masonry cannot be too coarse or the materials too common. The carpentry must be as rude and as unmechanically put together as possible; the glazing as clumsy and the glass as bad as can be found. If it is wished to introduce a painted window into a church of a Classical design, you must employ an artist of first-rate ability to prepare your cartoon, and he will charge you a very large sum for it; and it may cost as much more to transfer the drawing to the glass. Any journeyman glazier earning his guinea to two guineas a week is good enough to represent the sublimest mysteries of the Christian religion, or the most solemn scenes of the Bible history, on the windows of a Gothic church. The Mystery of the Trinity, or the most affecting incidents of the Passion, are represented every day in this country in a manner that makes one shudder, and the surprising thing is that people of refinement are not offended by such barbarous exhibitions.

A fourth advantage that told very much in favour of the Mediæval styles was, that contemporaneously with their re-introduction the feeling arose that both ornament and ornamental construction were indispensable in Church Architecture. Pillars were introduced in the interiors where they impeded both seeing and hearing, and towers were placed in the intersections where they endangered the construction; but they were thought beautiful, or at least correct, and no one com-

plained. In like manner chancels were introduced for effect, galleries and pews were abolished, coloured marbles, stained glass, painted ceilings, and decorations of every class were added. All these were assumed most erroneously to be parts of the style, but nine-tenths of them would have been as applicable, and possibly more effective, in any other.

During the Renaissance period, though the architect was sometimes allowed to ornament his construction, he was very rarely allowed to construct ornamentally. In almost all cases his church must be a rectangular room, a fourth or a fifth longer than its width: and the most essential condition of his instructions always was, that no space must be wasted, but that his building must be so arranged as to accommodate the largest possible congregation, and in doing so to take care that all shall see and hear perfectly. Pews and galleries are consequently insisted upon. Colour was not tolerated; and if plaster would do, no architect was allowed to use a more costly material. Under these circumstances, no fair comparison can be drawn between the two styles as practised in this country.

In addition to all this, it must be borne in mind that at the time of the Revival the public began, for the first time for nearly three hundred years, to take a real interest in architectural matters. Not only are the clergy now generally very well versed in Gothic Architecture, but so also are the bulk of the better classes in their congregations. Together they not only take an unusual interest in the construction of a new church, or the restoration of an old one: but they are able to guide and control their architect, to judge who is really the best skilled man for their purposes, and to see that his design is up to the mark and that he does his work efficiently.

In the Renaissance times the vestry and the churchwardens settled who was to build their church, and the sum he was to spend upon it. That done, the architect was left to his own devices. No one cared much, or could judge, what his design might be like, till it was too late to alter it; and when it was finished, they contented themselves with criticising it, without seeking to remedy its defects.

If the idea of introducing a new style had taken possession of the public mind at the same time that it adopted the Mediæval, and if a Modern style of Art had been fostered under the circumstances which have just been enumerated as so favourable to the progress of the Gothic, we may feel sure that we should by this time have created a style worthy of the nineteenth century, and that we should laugh in astonishment at any man who would now propose to erect a church or other building after the pattern of the Middle Ages.

If we add to these advantages the knowledge of the fact that the rising generation of architects work infinitely harder, and take far more interest in their work, than did the easy-going gentlemen of the

last generation, and that a class of art-workmen are fast springing up to aid them in carrying out their designs, it will be easily understood with what advantage the Gothic style starts on its competition with the Classic, in so far at least as Church Architecture is concerned. When all this coincides with a strong bias of religious feeling, the pure Classic may be considered as distanced for the time, and never, probably, will be able to compete with the Mediæval again; and the common-sense style is not yet born which alone can free us from the degrading trammels of either.

Before Pugin took the matter in hand, considerable progress had been made towards producing correct Gothic churches. The model generally adopted was Bishop Skirlaw's chapel, at the village of that name in Yorkshire, which was published, with illustrations, in the fourth volume of Britton's 'Architectural Antiquities.' Like the model, most of these churches were in the Perpendicular style of Gothic, which was then thought the most essentially constructive and elegant form in so far especially as window-tracery was concerned; and such churches as St. Luke's, Chelsea, the York Place Chapel, and the Cathedral at Edinburgh, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Glasgow, and many others, which every one may recall, belong to this style. These are all Gothic in their details, and correct enough in this respect; but all fail in consequence of being essentially Protestant in their arrangements. None of them have deep chancels, in which the clergy can be segregated from the laity. They have no sedilia, no reredos, nor any of those properties now considered as essential; worse than this, they have generally galleries, which, though affording a greatly increased accommodation to the congregation, are now not tolerable; and where painted glass is introduced, good drawing and elegant colouring had to be employed, after the fashion of Sir Joshua Reynolds's window at New College, Oxford, or West's at Windsor;—all which are very incongruous with the aim of Architecture in the present day.

If we compare the two rival churches of St. Luke's, Chelsea (Woodcut No. 215), and St. Pancras (Woodcut No. 196), which were being erected simultaneously in London, and both in dimensions and arrangements are very similar to one another, we shall find very little to choose between them according to the present doctrines. It is the custom to call St. Pancras Pagan, and consequently detestable; but not even the most blind partisan can fail to see in it that it is a Protestant place of worship of the nineteenth century, which is all it pretends to be. It is not a good design, as was pointed out above, and unnecessarily expensive; but it fulfils all the conditions its designer intended, with as much success as St. Luke's; and, as that is now rejected as un-Gothic by the purists of the present day, it really

becomes a question, in so far as these two churches are concerned, whether the Gothic or the Grecian ornament is the most elegant, or which is capable of producing the best effect at a given cost. The one is not a temple, though it pretends to be; and the other is not a Mediæval church, though its architect fancied it might be mistaken for one; and they can only, therefore, be classed as failures, with little to choose between them.

Before this last church, however, was completed, the public had become sufficiently instructed, through the labours of Britton, Rickman, and others, to see it was not Gothic, and demanded of the architects something more correct. Nothing was easier. Every library furnished the requisite materials, every village church was a model; neither thought nor ingenuity was required. Any man can learn to copy, and every architect soon learned to do so. So that now there is not a town, scarcely a village in the length and breadth of the land, which is not furnished with one of those forgeries; and so cleverly is this done in most instances, that, if a stranger were not aware that forgery is the fashion instead of being a crime, he might mistake the counterfeit for a really old Mediæval church. There are none of them, however, which possess sufficient merit of their own to make it a matter of regret that they cannot be particularised in this place.



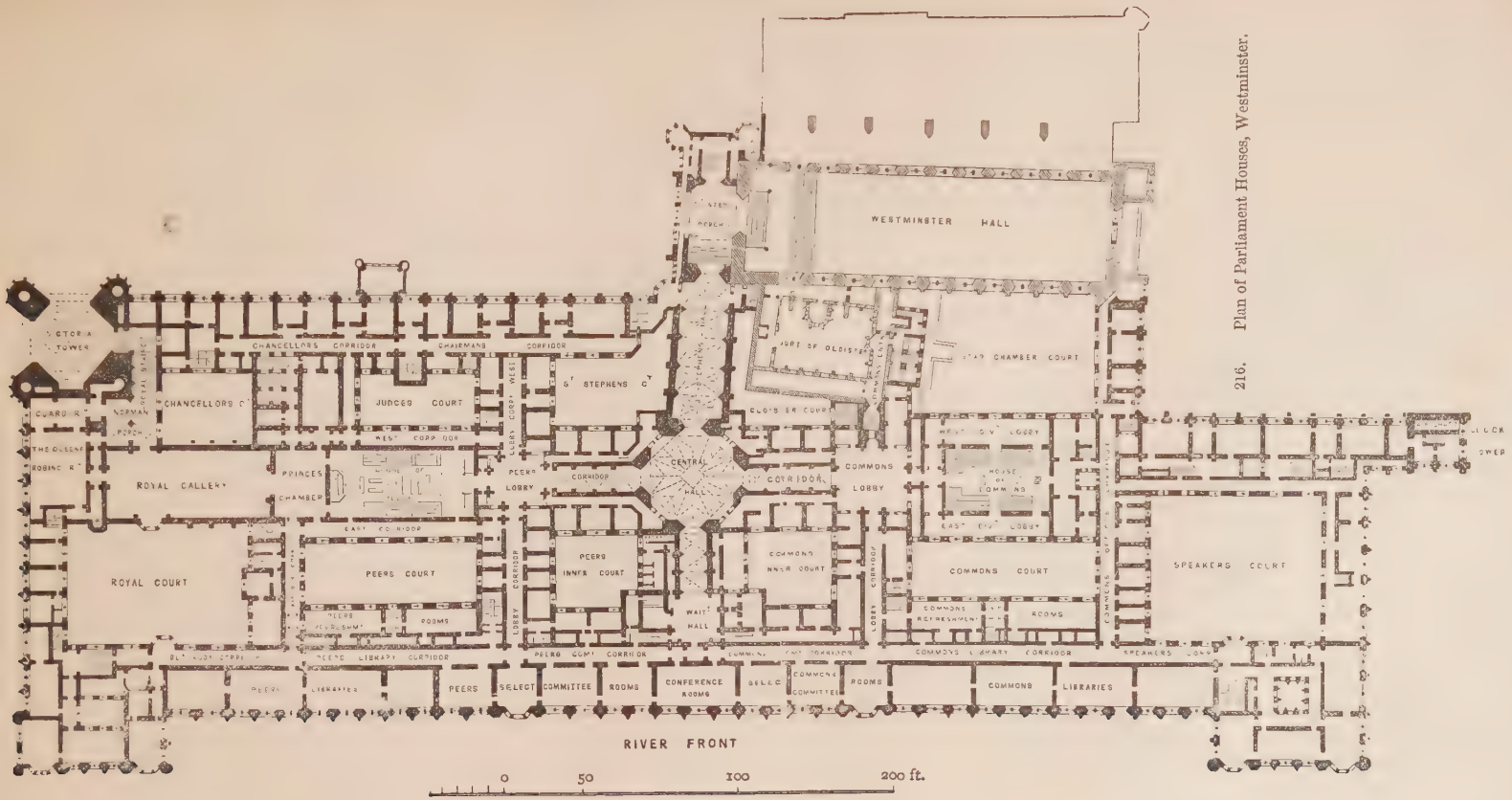
215. West Front of St. Luke's, Chelsea.

It would be as tedious as uninteresting to enumerate even a tenth of the fierce castles or secluded abbeys, the Tudor palaces, the Elizabethan mansions or monastic villas, that during the last forty years have been built in this wealthy but artless land. There may be much to enjoy, but there is little to admire, in these curious productions. For our present purpose it will only be necessary to allude to three

great secular public buildings, which sufficiently illustrate the recent progress and present position of the art.

The first of these is Windsor Castle, where restorations, amounting almost to a rebuilding, were commenced in 1826, under the superintendence of Sir Jeffrey Wyatville. Nothing could be more legitimate than the operation then attempted. The palace had been very much degraded by alterations at a period when Gothic Architecture was despised, and the question arose, when it was again determined to fit it as a Royal residence, whether to persevere in modernising it, or to restore it in the style in which it was originally built? The former course was hardly possible without almost pulling the castle down and rebuilding it; and nothing could well have been more happy than the mode in which the second plan was carried out. Instead of attempting to make it, like some modern castles, as if it really was intended to defend it with bows and arrows against some ancient enemy, Sir Jeffrey boldly adopted the idea of making it appear as if it was an ancient building fitted for a Royal residence in the nineteenth century; but he did so using only—externally at least—the details and forms of the age of the Edwards and Henrys, so that the eye of the artist is not offended by any incongruities, and the man of common sense knows that it is a palace, and a palace only, that he is looking at. With these elements he not only retained, but improved, the Gothic outline of its original builders, and added a magnificence they were incapable of conceiving. Internally he was not so fortunate,—partly to meet the views of his Royal patron, and it may be also that funds sufficient were not available, but there is a poverty about some of the apartments, and a Belgravian drawing-room air about others, which is hardly worthy of the place. It must, however, be added that few architects could devote to the task time sufficient to design the details of every room separately, and there did not then exist a class of qualified assistants capable of taking the trouble off his hands. Notwithstanding all this, no modern building of the class has so good an excuse for adopting a Mediæval guise, or wears it more artistically, than this; and no one more happily combines the luxury and convenience of a modern palace with the castellated form which the barbarous state of society forced on our forefathers.

The second great building alluded to above is the Houses of Parliament. Here it was determined to go a step further. Not only the exterior, but every room and every detail of the interior, was to be of the Tudor age. Even the sculpture was to be of the stiff formal style of that period: Queen Victoria and her Royal uncles and ancestors from Elizabeth downwards were all to be clothed in the garb of the earlier period, and have their names inscribed in the illegible characters then current. Every art and every device was to be employed to prove that history was a myth, and that the British sovereigns from



216. Plan of Parliament Houses, Westminster.

Elizabeth to Victoria all reigned before the two last Henrys! Or you are asked to believe that Henry VII. foresaw all that the Lords and Commons and Committees would require in the nineteenth century, and provided this building for their accommodation accordingly. The Hindoos were actuated by the same childish spirit when they wrote their past history in the prophetic form of the Puranas. The trick hardly deceives even the ignorant Indian, and does not certainly impose on any Englishman.

Apart from this absurdity, for which the architect was not responsible, the building can hardly be called a success at all commensurable with its dimensions or the richness of its decorations. An architect of Sir Charles Barry's taste and knowledge could hardly have failed to



217. River Front of the Parliament Houses. From a Photograph.

perceive that a certain amount of regularity and symmetry was indispensable to the dignity of a great building, and that frequently it was allowable to sacrifice internal convenience to a certain extent in order to obtain this; and generally that it was better to do so than to thrust forward every engineering or domestic exigence exactly where it may be most conveniently situated, in order to get that class of truthfulness which it is now so much the fashion to clamour for. It may, however, be the case that Barry did carry the principle too far when he made the Speaker's House and Black Rod's apartments exact duplicates of one another, and made both of the same ordinance as the libraries and committee-rooms between them. But having once adopted this principle of design, there can be no doubt but that it should have been carried out in all parts of the building; and it was unpardonable

to adopt three towers of such different design as those which form the principal features of the structure, and to arrange them so unsymmetrically as has been done.

The truth of the matter seems to be that Barry, finding himself forced to employ the Gothic style against his own better judgment, first adopted that form of it which most nearly approached to modern times, and most readily adapted itself to the uses and elegances of our own times, and then used it with that symmetry which is indispensable to dignity in architectural art to as great an extent as the principles of Gothic Art would allow. Since Barry's time, however, we have advanced so far towards absolute purism that these things would not be tolerated now. The style of the Parliament Houses is already obsolete, and looked on with horror by the present school of Gothic architects. Everything we have learnt or acquired since the thirteenth century is to be absolutely ignored in the New Palace of Justice, and we are to return to the "Saturnia regna" of these barbarous ages. The one hope for Architecture is that it will prove such a *reductio ad absurdum* that the fashion will have passed away before it is finished. The fashion of the style of the Parliament Houses lasted between thirty and forty years, and that is as long as any absurdity of the sort can expect to live in these days of activity and progress.

Following out the principle of the river front, the central dome ought beyond all question to have been the principal feature of the design, and nothing could have been easier than to make it so. Its cross section now is 70 ft. externally; that of the Victoria Tower 62, exclusive of the angle towers. That of the Octagon could easily have been increased to any desired extent; and if the four galleries that lead into it had been raised so as to be seen above the ordinary level of the building, and the Octagon with its increased base carried at least 100 ft. higher, the whole design would have gained immensely in dignity.[1]

As it now is, the Victoria Tower is 325 ft. high to the top of the pinnacles; the Clock Tower, 314; but the central Octagon is only 266, and terminates upwards in a much more attenuated form than the other two.

Besides this defect in the general arrangement of the design, the position of the Victoria Tower as it now stands has a fatal effect in dwarfing those portions of the building in immediate contact with it.

In the original design this tower was intended to be of six storeys in height, each storey four windows in width, and with no feature larger than those of the edifice to which it was attached. Had this been adhered to, the tower would have been much more beautiful than it now is, but, owing to an unfortunate peculiarity of the architect's

[1] This arrangement is the great charm of the design of Fonthill Abbey (Woodcut No. 214), though there it is marred by exaggeration in the opposite direction.

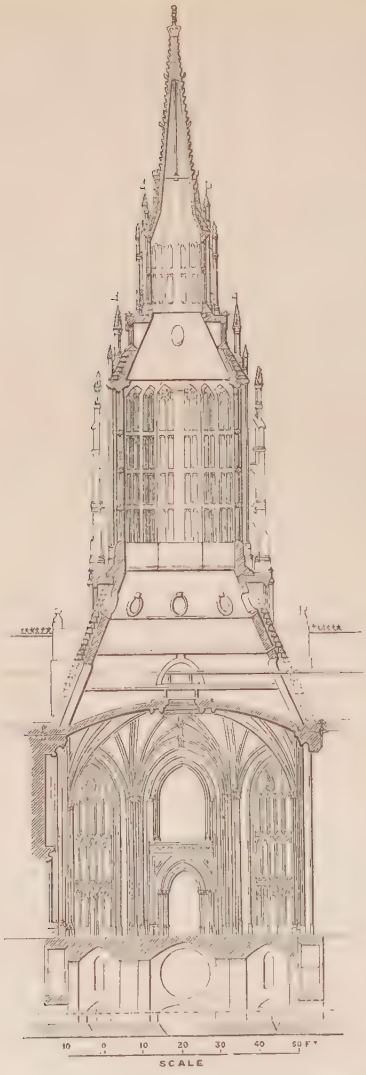
mind, he never remained satisfied with his original designs, though these were generally wonderfully perfect. The consequence was that the entrance to the tower, instead of being only the height of two storeys of the building, as was first proposed, now rises through all four, and makes the adjacent House of Lords absolutely ridiculous. If the size of the gateway is appropriate, the Lords are pigmies. If they are men of ordinary stature, the gateway is meant for giants. Worse than this, at the back of this great arch is a little one, one-fourth its height, through which everything that enters under the large arch must pass also.[1] Unfortunately the whole tower is carried out on the same system (see Frontispiece). The six original storeys are enlarged into three, and all their parts exaggerated. The result of this is that the tower looks very much smaller than it really is, and it is difficult indeed to believe that it is as high as the dome of St. Paul's; but the effect of this exaggeration on the adjoining façade is even more disastrous. It would perhaps be difficult to produce in the whole range of Architecture a more exquisite piece of surface decoration than the façade of the House of Lords, from the tower round the end of Westminster Hall to the Law Courts; but as it has no horizontal lines sufficient to give it shadow, it wants vertical breaks to give it dignity and strength. This could easily have been supplied by making the entrance to the House of Lords higher, and by raising it also the architect would have given dignity and meaning to the whole; but by placing a long unbroken line of building in immediate juxtaposition with an exaggerated vertical mass, he has done all that was possible to destroy two things which his own exquisite taste had rendered beautiful in themselves.

Internally nothing can well be happier than the mode in which Barry appropriated Westminster Hall and its cloister as the grand entrances to the Parliament Houses; and the four great arteries meeting in a central Hall were also well worthy of his genius; and the octagon itself may be considered both internally and externally to be the most successful attempt yet made to build a Gothic dome. Its dimensions are practically 60 ft. diameter by 60 ft. in height;[2] and as it is entirely lighted from below its springing, these proportions are singularly happy. If the central octagon at Ely, which is 10 or 12 feet wider, had been completed in the same way, it would have been even more beautiful, but it is doubtful whether the system could be carried much

[1] The clear height of the external archway is 50 ft.; of the internal, 15 ft.

[2] It is extremely difficult to quote the dimensions in plan of a Gothic dome with anything like precision. In a paper read by Mr. Edward Barry to the Institute of British Architects, in June 1857, he gives these dimensions as 55 ft. by 59, but the first is from capital to capital of the vaulting shafts; the second to the underside of the ribs. On the ground the first dimension measures at least 60 ft. from wall to wall.

further with good effect. The smallness of the parts would probably become offensive with a dome 100 ft. diameter; and with dimensions beyond these it is difficult to see how a Gothic dome could be carried out. This is indeed one of the defects of Gothic Architecture as applied to modern uses. Even the most bigoted Gothicists admit that the dome is the most beautiful, as it is the cheapest and most easily constructed, form of permanent roofing yet invented; but they do not and dare not use it, because our forefathers in the Middle Ages were ignorant of its form and uses. No one felt the absurdity of this restraint more than Barry, but he did not dare to go beyond the above-quoted dimensions in this direction, in the present instance, and so far with perfect success. The exterior, however, was even better than the interior. Nothing is more truly and essentially Gothic in any modern design than the way in which the stonework is carried up 186 feet above the dome. It is what was done at Chiaravalle,[1] and was intended at Florence,[2] and what Sir Christopher Wren did rather clumsily at St. Paul's;[3] but is here done more truthfully and more elegantly than in any of these, and only misses perfection in so far that its dimensions are necessarily small, and its architect could not combine the full rounded lines of the Classical or Byzantine dome with the straight lines to which Gothic Art is unfortunately confined.[4]



218. Section of Central Octagon, Parliament Houses.
Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

[1] 'History of Architecture,' vol. ii., p. 208. [2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 206.

[3] *Ante*, Woodcut 175.

[4] A stone spire, very much like this in general outline, but of course in an earlier style, was no doubt originally intended to have crowned the intersection at Ely: not the wretched temporary wooden makeshift which has recently been restored with such ludicrous reverence.

The beauty of this central dome, both internally and externally, goes as far as anything in the Houses of Parliament can do to make amends for the cruel mistake Barry made in destroying what remained of the beautiful chapel of the Edwards, for which there was no excuse beyond that love of uniformity which, though desirable in Italian, is by no means equally so in Gothic Art, while its loss must always remain a subject of regret. We may also regret on general principles the adoption here of a style in many respects unsuitable for the purposes to which these buildings are applied. But taking it all in all, it is perhaps the most successful attempt to apply Mediæval Architecture to modern civic purposes which has yet been carried out; and, barring the defects in conception pointed out above, it is probable that the difficulties of the attempt are so great that we can hardly expect to see another which shall be more successful.



219. New Museum at Oxford. From a Photograph.

The third building chosen to illustrate the downward progress of the art is the New Museum at Oxford. This was designed to be Gothic in conception, Gothic in detail, and Gothic in finish. Nothing was to betray the hated and hateful nineteenth century, to the cultivation of whose sciences it was to be dedicated. Unfortunately the style selected on this occasion was not English Gothic, for, the architects having exhausted all the specimens found in their books, and, according to the new canons of Art, being obliged to be original without being allowed to invent, they have latterly in consequence been forced to borrow from Germany or Lombardy such features as are yet new to the English public. Generally speaking, these foreign forms and

details are neither so beautiful nor so appropriate as our own; but if the architect can produce a certificate of origin, and prove that he has copied and not invented them, the public are satisfied that all the exigencies of true Art have been complied with.

The roof of the Great Central Hall of the Oxford Museum, and the iron-work that supports it, are made purposely clumsy and awkward. The Lecture-rooms are cold, draughty, and difficult to speak in. The Library is a long, ill-proportioned gallery, with a rudely-constructed roof, painted in the crudest and most inharmonious colours; the windows glazed in the least convenient manner with the worst possible glass; and the bookcases arranged, not to accommodate books, but to look monkish. You take a book from its press, and are astonished to find that men who could spend thousands on thousands in this great forgery have not reprinted Lyell's 'Geology,' or Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' in black letter, and illuminated them, like the building, in the style of the thirteenth century. It is to be hoped that no stuffed specimen of the modern genus Felis will be introduced into the museum, or we may lose the illusion to be gained from contemplating the long-backed specimens of the Mediæval species which crawl round the windows of the library in such strangely pre-historic attitudes. The one really good point in the whole design is the range of pillars with their capitals which surround the inner court; but they are good precisely because they are not Gothic. The shafts are simply cylinders of British marbles; the capitals adorned with representations of plants and animals, as like nature as the material and the skill of the artist would admit of, and as unlike the Gothic cats of the façade as two representations of the same class of objects can well be made. On wandering further you enter what seems a kitchen of the age of that at Glastonbury, and find a professor, not practising alchemy, but repeating certain experiments you believe to be of modern invention; and the only relief you experience is to find that his thermometer and barometer and other instruments must, from the style of their ornaments belong to an age long anterior to that when those impostors Torcelli, or Galileo, or Newton, are said to have invented these things.

If the student of Architecture gains but very little gratification in an artistic point of view from a visit to the Oxford Museum, he may at least come away consoled with the reflection that the Syndics of that learned University have gone far in producing a *reductio ad absurdum;* and that a system which results in such a mass of contradictions and *niaiseries* as are found here is too childish long to occupy the serious attention of grown-up men, and when the fashion passes away we may hope for something better. Till it does, Architecture is not an art that a man of sense would care to practise, or a man of taste would care to study.

The great lesson we have yet to learn before progress is again possible is, that *Archæology is not Architecture*. It is not even Art in any form, but a Science, as interesting and instructive as any other; but from the very nature of things it can neither become an art, nor in any way take the place of one. Our present mistake is, first, in insisting that our architects must be archæologists; and fancying, in the second place, that a man who has mastered the science is necessarily a proficient in the art. Till this error is thoroughly exploded, and till Architecture is practised only for the sake of supplying the greatest amount of convenience attainable, combined with the most appropriate elegance, there is no hope of improvement in any direction in which Architecture has hitherto progressed.

As the case at present stands, the Gothic style has obtained entire possession of the Church; and any architect who would propose to erect an ecclesiastical edifice in any other style would simply be laughed at. It is employed also, exclusively or nearly so, for schools and parsonage-houses—generally, wherever the clergy have influence this style is adopted. If it is true that the Gothic period was the best and purest of the Christian Church, and that we are now in this respect exactly where we were between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, this is perfectly logical and correct; but if we have progressed, or been refined, or take a different view of these matters from the one then taken, the logic will not hold good; but this the architect is not called upon to decide.

On the other hand, the Classical styles still retain a strong hold on town-halls and municipal buildings. Palaces are generally in this style, and club-houses have hitherto successfully resisted the encroachments of the enemy: and but very recently all the domestic and business buildings of our cities were in the non-Gothic styles. In this country, mansions and villas are pretty equally divided between the two, and it is difficult to estimate which is gaining ground at this moment. Generally it may be said that the Gothic is the style of the clergy, the Classical that of the laity; and though the buildings of the latter are the most numerous, those of the former are the most generally architectural.

For the philosophical student of Art it is of the least possible consequence which may now be most successful in encroaching on the domains of its antagonist. He knows that both are wrong, and that neither can consequently advance the cause of true Art. His one hope lies in the knowledge that there is a "*tertium quid*," a style which, for want of a better name, is sometimes called the Italian, but should be called the Common Sense style. This, never having attained the completeness which debars all further progress, as was the case in the purely Classical or in the perfected Gothic styles, not only admits of, but insists on, progress. It courts borrowing

principles and forms from either. It can use either pillars or pinnacles as may be required. It admits of towers, and spires, or domes. It can either indulge in plain walls, or pierce them with innumerable windows. It knows no guide but common-sense; it owns no master but true taste. It may hardly be possible, however, because it requires the exercise of these qualities; and more than this, it demands thought, where copying has hitherto sufficed: and it courts originality, which the present system repudiates. Its greatest merit is that it admits of that progress by which alone man has hitherto accomplished anything great or good, either in Literature, in Science, or in Art.

[A Common Sense Style.—Our author is only exemplifying his customary straightforward way of thinking when at the close of this chapter he so boldly claims for "the Italian" the recognition due not merely to a "Common Sense" style, but to the only mode that deserves that apparently simple title with relation to the requirements of the present age. At the time he wrote thus "the Battle of the Styles" was at its height; and his argument would be that "the Classic" of the one camp and "the Gothic" of the other were equally unsuitable to the time then passing, and equally irrational in their attitude towards each other as rivals before that tribunal of public opinion whose judgment they were both so noisily challenging. In this view of the case he saw in "the Italian," as an abstraction, a connecting or even combining formula, possessing all the useful elements of both Classic and Gothic, and being in itself more common-sensible than either. So far so well. But what does he mean by "the Italian"? Is it the style of Barry's then popular works, such as the Travellers' Club-house (No. 350), Bridgewater House (No. 352), Halifax Town Hall (No. 356), and Clumber (No. 354)? If so, here again the student must be invited to think for himself, and may especially inquire whether this "Italian" is not in reality merely a single mode in a far wider province of design. To suggest that the formula of the gigantic Greek portico of the British Museum, as the leading idea of extreme Classic, goes too far in one direction, and the gigantic Victoria Tower too far in the other, is easy enough; but if any one is asked to proceed to show any "Italian" system of design which not only avoids both of these extremes, but connects them by occupying all the serviceable intervening ground, —combining (so to speak) Westminster Hall with the Albert Hall, and Westminster Abbey with St. Paul's—this is a proposition that may well startle the practical designer. At the same time we may be sure that our author had a shrewd argument in his mind, although he may have been unable to express it in technical logic. A Modern European style (he would say), a common sense mode for working out any architectural problem for any modern European purpose, there must of necessity be. —Granted.—Call it "Italian" for excusable and indeed obvious reasons.

—Granted again.—Then try (he would add) what can be done with this style by the mere exercise of common sense, and the problem will solve itself and the common-sensibleness of the mode be manifested.

Of course the term "common sense" is vague and unscientific; he means what is otherwise called—quite as vaguely—good sense, the avoidance of those personal whims, or incidental fashions, or unconscious traditional affectations, or too ambitious pretensions, over which all artists are, and always have been, prone to stumble. Now the argument is no doubt well meant, but what does it amount to after all? Merely this, that the abstract Modern European style—Italian in so far that it had its rise in Italy—is the natural or "common sense" style for that modern European phase of civilisation of which it forms a part. Without any such process of reasoning, its universal acceptance and evolution throughout modern Europe proves its right to reign, and, if we speak strictly in the theoretical abstract, no more need be said. But the concrete questions at issue are still untouched; namely, how far this accepted style has been abused and adulterated in practice, and by what process of reform its character for common sense, or good sense, or authentic suitability is to be rehabilitated. One thing at least may be said:—it is not by "reviving" exotic forms of ancient Art for amusement, not by the encouragement of experimental masquerade, not by the acceptance of histrionic and bizarre blandishments, that the common sense of gracious building can ever be arrived at. Revivals perish with the using; masquerade provokes ridicule when the daylight shines upon it; and in Art, as in all else, the histrio is only a histrio, not a hero. Perhaps the best way in which to invoke the influence of common sense in the architecture of our modern England (a country somewhat given to boasting of its common sense) is to invite some of our architects to be a good deal less eager as "great artists" after academical (or non-academical) display, and a very great deal more painstaking as good workers in the elaboration of those simple graces of proportion and detail which always constitute the most enduring merits of any architectural composition, and for whose absence no amount of academicalism or of enthusiastic non-academicalism, or of novelty, or of courage of any sort, can ever compensate.—Ed.]

[The English Government and the Architects.—It is pretty well understood, and ought not to be ignored, that for many years past the representatives of the Government in London have been as a rule seriously dissatisfied with the architects whom they have employed in the execution of great public buildings. In reply to such complaints, it has been argued that the typical English gentlemen who control Parliament and who (as Disraeli puts it) are "devoted to field sports, know no language but their own, and never read," are, in respect of architecture especially, utter Philistines or utilitarians, whose supreme authority over the building operations of the nation, when compared

with the more enlightened behaviour of continental governments, is a misfortune which has to be regarded as "part of the price we pay for our liberties." No doubt there is a good deal of truth in this, and much cause for regret sometimes in the circumstance that the artistic affairs of such a nationality as ours are not in some degree committed to the care of persons selected for the purpose on account of actual acquaintance with artistic matters. But on the other hand it is still desirable to discover whether there is anything in the position of professional architecture in England which goes to justify the discontent of a whole class of men whose claim to represent the sound sense of the country cannot be disputed. Is it in sober truth the inherent Philistinism of British legislators that has produced the unsatisfactory character of our public edifices, or is it any nonsensical attitude on the part of architects that has caused a Philistine policy to be adopted by the Legislature in self-defence? The answer of a great many very well meaning and very well qualified persons will be that the fault lies in a great measure with the architects. Take the case of any public competition of designs on a grand scale of which the reader may happen to possess a personal recollection. Can he say with any sincerity that common sense was a marked characteristic of the most prominent drawings submitted? Take again the case of any great public building which has been executed in London, from the days of the British Museum and the Houses of Parliament to the present time. Can he say that common sense is a leading motive in its composition? The new Post Office in the City is an instance in point. Most architects were offended when that important edifice was not only projected without a competition, but carried into execution without any architectural direction except that of the unconspicuous officials of the Public Works Department. It was pronounced, even by the most moderate men, to be an opportunity thrown away. Now the exterior design is certainly not of those polished artistic proportions which would have cost nothing but pains and skill. The interior may perhaps be worse in that respect than the exterior. But compare the building as an organic device with the old Post Office on the other side of the way, a work of which Sir Robert Smirke was considered to be justly proud; or with the same architect's British Museum; or with Barry's Houses of Parliament; or with Street's Law Courts. In each of these cases, how much of the common sense of careful disposition and expressive appropriateness, of the repose of usableness, of the indescribable completeness of perfect convenience, has been deliberately and (as many very good people would plainly say) maliciously compromised for the sake of—what? No one knows what, except academical architects; and even they are not of one mind about it. In a word, the idea that has become fixed in the minds of such men of business as are at the head of our national affairs seems to be very much like this:—that an English

architect, when entrusted with any important work, begins at the wrong end, and, as an inevitable consequence, misses the proper object of the enterprise; begins with style, fashion, masquerade, histrionics, or whatever we may choose to call his perverted desire for spurious display, goes up at the beginning like the rocket and comes down at the end like the stick. This is, no doubt, putting the case strongly; but it requires to be put strongly, for there cannot be any reason why English architects and the English Government should not be able to act in harmony, if the architects will only consent to do their work (as the phrase now goes) scientifically, beginning with the skeleton and ending with the skin. There is a very pretty motto which has been played upon for many years by the junior architectural society of London, "Design in Beauty, Build in Truth." Does the maxim "Design in Beauty," in being placed foremost in order, signify something which may be a weakness in our architectural philosophy? True Art seems rather to be to design in truth as the initial principle, and to see to concurrent grace as the consecutive. To sketch on paper first a beautiful ideal edifice, and then construct it honestly and no more in stone, is quite another thing; and such a system may surely become the source of infinite misadventure.—Ed.]

[The Right Use of Precedents in Style.—The academical doctrine which prevailed so long in the practice of Modern Architecture, and most notably in England, that the designer was bound to produce "authority" for every portion of his design in the form of ancient precedent, is never attempted to be justified now in any sense which seems to involve the idea that a mysterious superiority is necessarily the attribute of antiquity. One of the great German thinkers expresses a sound principle when he says, "We ourselves are the true ancients; our forefathers were younger than we." At the same time, this form of words itself suggests a meaning, especially applicable to Art, which is the very opposite of what we at first sight accept: for, if the ancients were younger, their judgment was less sophisticated. The especial charm of the Art of the ancient Greeks, for example, is, in spite of its primitiveness, its incomparable freshness; they "walked with the gods in the resplendent air," with the elastic step of youth, in the ineffable vitality of the springtime of genius. But a similar juvenescence is clearly discoverable also, in various forms and various degrees, at other epochs of art-history, in painting and sculpture, in poetry and music, in architecture itself, and in several of the minor arts. Nor is this all; for every age of any merit, in whatever art, will be found to have bequeathed to us its quota of happy inspirations. And this is the case in architecture, perhaps, so much more than in almost any other art, that the inheritance which has thus descended to us has become indispensably useful in our own day, in view of the enlarged extent of the individual architect's operations, and the haste in which they have

to be performed. He is obviously entitled and expected to avail himself to the utmost of his knowledge of examples, just as the votary of any other pursuit of a scientific or systematised character must begin where his predecessors left off. Copying, in this sense, is inevitable; or otherwise each individual would have to attempt the absurd task of inventing a manner for himself. In other words, a style in architecture, or even one form of a style, is a product of intellect which is found to require the co-operation of a multitude of experimenters during a long period of time; and its acceptance when appropriate, with the acceptance of all its details, is copyism unavoidable and as matter-of-course. But to copy in this way ought surely to involve the obligation to attempt an improvement upon the precedent; and to achieve this end every designer is bound to do his best. Men of average ability will leave things a very little advanced; inferior men will do nothing, or less; but the superiors of the day may always "leave their footprints on the sands of time."

Piracy, and even forgery, are ungracious terms that have occasionally been used by critics of modern architecture. Of course there are such offences in the abstract; but what are they in practice? To copy from the books is not forgery; to imitate another man's work is not piracy. On the contrary, if we regard the current works of the day in the generous light of co-operative experiments for the advancement of the art at large in the community, or throughout the world, every designer is in duty bound to study the experiments of others, not only past, but present, and to do his utmost to improve upon them And it is obvious that this, in a somewhat different form, is exactly what takes place, and frequently almost unconsciously. Not only does the pupil adopt the manner of his master, and the admirer the manner that he admires, but the rival studies the rival's work for the very sake of rivalry. So far so well, and the *lex non scripta* of honesty and fair dealing may be trusted always to assert itself. But when this law is violated, piracy may certainly be charged, and so may forgery. Piracy in architecture is the stealing of another's brain-work as if in the face of the public and by violence. It cannot be prevented, but there is this consolation, that in these days the particular circumstances to which new buildings have to be accommodated are so multifarious, and the feeling of personal self-sufficiency in most architects so pronounced, that not much in the way of any palpable kind of appropriation has to be contended with. Then, as regards forgery, the chief practical question seems to be whether we are to apply the ugly word to the work of "the architect to the trade." If so, what are we to say of the work of the "managing clerk"? At any rate the use of such terms to express disapproval of mere copying, or of the practice of counterfeit, is certainly not to be encouraged.—Ed.]

CHAPTER VI.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND (THE UNITED KINGDOM).

[The Epoch of 1851.—(See first the argument on this epoch in the Preface.) The condition of the English architectural world at head-quarters in 1851 may be thus briefly described. The most prominent architects were Cockerell, Barry, Hardwick, Smirke, members of the Royal Academy; Donaldson and Tite, leaders at the Institute; Pugin and Scott, chiefs of the advancing Gothic school; and Digby Wyatt and Owen Jones, ornamentalists. Blore, Burn, and Burton (retired), also occupied a high position, and Pennethorne was the last official architect to the Government. Beresford-Hope, Parker, Ruskin, and Fergusson, were conspicuous literary amateurs.

Barry had been busily occupied for some eleven or twelve years on the great work of the day, the pseudo-Gothic Houses of Parliament. Cockerell was delivering his graceful dilettantist lectures at the Royal Academy, and was known all over Europe as the English representative of extreme Greek refinement. Donaldson, the founder and indefatigable manager of the Institute of British Architects, was at his best; not much of a working architect, but Professor at University College, and exponent in general of the lighter literature of the art and the more gracious interests of the profession at home and abroad, unwearied in correspondence, and genial as he was busy every day. Tite, although essentially a commercial magnate and a devotee of mere wealth, and chiefly, indeed, a "compensation-surveyor" and ally of auctioneers, (eventually a Member of Parliament of very liberal views, commanding on that score the honour of knighthood), was nevertheless a man of substantial knowledge, artistic and antiquarian, and of powerful character as a stalwart upholder of the practical art and science of the high-class ordinary architect. Scott was young, beginning to be busy with new churches. Pugin, the author of a stormy little book called "The True Principles of Gothic Architecture," a wild, monastic, sea-loving eccentric, who had joined the Church of Rome in honour of Mediæval Art, was still publishing fierce diatribes against the mockeries and shams of modern design, whilst diligently and with infinite enthusiasm exploring every nook and cranny of antique ecclesiastical

work, from grand architectural ruins to painted prayer-books and embroidered petticoats. Sharpe of Lancaster had just started, amidst much controversy, a new classification of Gothic Architecture by historical periods instead of discrimination of forms. Lastly, Owen Jones and Digby Wyatt, apparently the least in importance, were in one respect the chief; for they represented in earnest practicability, as Pugin did in something more than earnest impracticability, the advent of that enlargement of the whole scope of Architectural Art which was to become characteristic of the new generation.

The precise condition of architectural doctrine in 1851 may at the present day seem very peculiar. Professor Cockerell, whose personal taste was of the most fastidious Hellenic school, thought it his duty, not to himself, but to his work as a public teacher, to be what he called "catholic"—meaning thereby liberally, if vaguely, eclectic—admiring everything that he could, and despising nothing at all. Here are some of his expressions at the time: "The grammar and syntax of the art is to be acquired by a diligent study of the great writers Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, Vignola, and Delorme." Again, "Vitruvius quotes from forty-one Greek writers whose writings are lost: his work is the great text-book of antiquity." But on the other hand he was able to assure his students for their comfort that "the entire manner of Gothic construction would be found in the rules of Vitruvius," and he could tell them in the same breath that the gabled apse of a Herefordshire church was "symbolical of the Crown of Thorns," with much more of the same sort which it would be cruel to quote because of the obvious distress of the most courtly of academical lecturers under the incomprehensible eclecticism which his sense of duty was forcing upon him in evil days. Donaldson, again, was never weary of declaring in the very plainest of language how "the authority of antiquity" was something very much of the supernatural, if not even the divine: and one of his favourite projects was to acquire for the Institute Library, as a supreme and all-sufficient store of wisdom, a collection of all the editions of Vitruvius. Following such teaching as this, not only the ordinary run of architectural practitioners, but the best of them, simply copied and counterfeited anything which they could find in the books to suit the purpose of the moment: and their criticism of each other's work consisted for the most part in calling for "precedent," whether in Classic or in Gothic, as the one thing needful. The Classic designs thus produced had at least the advantage of being vernacular; for their mode was a phase of the accepted mode of three hundred years, and careful proportion and detail will cover many sins of style; but the Gothic was generally odiously meagre and anomalous, and all the more so when the designer was urgently denouncing the counterfeits of his Classic brethren only to substitute his own.

It was upon this ground that Pugin took up his position. What

he demanded was simply that the true principles of Gothic Art should be studied and acted upon because in their very nature they were wholly true, and in no way permissive of counterfeit, whether in respect of art or of construction. He would copy the Mediæval work, of course; but he would copy it correctly in the spirit of the original, and not as a sham. The Classic he would not copy at all: it was anathema; and here was the very potent and intelligible reason:—the Mediæval was English, and it was also Christian; the Classic was only Italian and Pagan, confessedly exotic and confessedly heathen; and what more need be said? This contrast was largely accepted by young and thoughtful men, and was indeed gradually being acted upon, more especially in the more simple and plain kind of church-work which favoured the experiment; and out of this there naturally enough came before long "the Battle of the Styles." The too-liberal eclecticism of Cockerell and Donaldson dissolved into a direct antagonism between the faint-hearted adherents of the Italian method of Modern Europe on the one side, and on the other the contemptuous advocates of the antecedent pre-Raffaelite method, which was vehemently declared to be the one genuine and good old European method, for some time superseded by a spurious and bad method, but a style with life in it still if it had room to breathe.

Ruskin followed Pugin, and did a great deal to popularise the new doctrine, although in a different form. In this year 1851, he was accentuating the doctrines of his "Seven Lamps of Architecture" by publishing his "Stones of Venice." He was not an architect in any sense of the term, but a rhetorician; and in the criticism of Architecture he was almost less than an amateur, his enthusiasm for the art, in the eyes of working architects, being only an affectation. His principles might perhaps be true, but they were so vaporised by the heat of style and eloquence as to be mere intangible fumes of principles. His books were pretty reading, no doubt, for idle people; but what could any architect say to such words as these?—"If I should succeed, as I hope, in making the Stones of Venice touchstones, and detecting, by the mouldering of her marble, poison more subtle than ever was betrayed by the rending of her crystal"—surely this could not be the way to regenerate the practical drawing-board! Nor indeed was Venice the place for making the attempt, except in a dream. Ruskin's writings have been extremely, extravagantly popular with sentimental people, for great merits of their own—"greatest when maddest," it has been said—but his influence upon the craftsmanship of Architecture has been very small, if any. Nevertheless, although he has himself in his later days expressed a wish that he could obliterate half of all that he has written, certainly it may be fairly answered that the world would be sorry to lose what he has written on Architecture. Working architects must be permitted to say they cannot make sense of it; but that the intention of every word of it has been to elevate and enhance the

abstract appreciation of the art not one of them would wish to deny.

Fergusson was a writer of an entirely different order. In 1851, when Ruskin was giving to the public his visionary "Stones of Venice," Fergusson was publishing (after his volumes on India and Jerusalem), "The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored." Although as yet his chosen province of architectural study seemed to be the antiquities of the East, he already showed the bent of his mind to be, unlike Ruskin's, all in the direction of persevering and plodding exploration. He was no literary juggler, but a hard-headed analytical critic: superficial to a certain extent in the severe eye of the working designer, but, so far as the study of the surface could go, a sober and sound exponent of whatever his patient research might discover. While Ruskin was wheeling in empty air, Fergusson was laboriously treading *terra firma*. He had not made his mark as Ruskin had, but he was neither unknown nor unnoticed.

The writings of Whewell, Willis, and Parker, with some others of the same class, as antiquaries in Ecclesiastical Architecture, carried at this time more weight than was always desirable, but their practical influence on the art was small. The name of Petit also was becoming known, a clergyman who happened to possess, not merely enthusiasm for Gothic, but, what was at that time rare, a mastery of the pencil as a sketcher.

But a still more conspicuous name was that of Beresford-Hope. While a student at the University not very long before this time, he had made himself prominent in connection with the celebrated "Cambridge Camden Society," which, although in full co-operation with the great "Oxford Movement," occupied itself more with the development of the material arts of so-called ecclesiology, than with the more dangerous resuscitation of old doctrine and discipline. Although Pugin had been carried by his savage eccentricity quite beyond the line of denominational demarcation which the Cambridge Camden Society, with all its enthusiasm, was determined to maintain, yet in everything that belonged to architectural criticism, Hope was an ardent supporter of the "true principles" of the Gothic ideal; and by his distinguished social position he was enabled so successfully to assume the duties and responsibilities of a representative ecclesiologist, that in 1851 he had already acquired a high character amongst Churchmen. With him, Gothic Art was not a matter of opinion or taste, but of consecrated Christian order; and in this he was so warmly supported by many able and earnest architects, that they were already acquiring the importance of a reforming party in the profession under his personal leadership.

The International Exhibition.—The spirit of vital change which was producing at this time such men as Pugin, Ruskin, Fergusson, and Hope, in the field of Academical Architecture, was of course operating

likewise in other provinces of artistic and industrial enterprise. The Philistinism of half a dozen generations of English people of respectability was about to be assailed, and, in a word, the International Exhibition of 1851 was to become a fresh starting-point for the Arts of the Victorian Age.

The name of the Prince Consort must now be introduced. Only ten years before he became associated with this celebrated undertaking, he had made his entry into London society in the conspicuous and trying position of the youthful husband of a youthful queen. As a carefully educated German patrician, and a man of the highest aspirations after ideal and philosophical beneficence, as well as practical refinement and culture, the attitude which he promptly assumed was well indicated by the popular notion that he had been allowed by the Government to take charge of philanthropy and scholarship in return for his keeping clear of politics. Literature, Science, and Art at once accepted him for a royal patron; and it must be confessed that they had long been much in need of such patronage. Two incidents in particular may be here noticed; namely, that he was appointed to preside over a royal commission for embellishing the new Palace of Parliament, and that the Society of Arts contrived to secure him for their president. It was thus that he was persuaded to listen to the projects of Henry Cole, out of which, so patronised, the Great Exhibition was eventually developed.

Cole had been known before this as a fugitive writer on the productions of industrial Art; and recently, in conjunction with one or two adherents, he had conceived the idea that, if an Industrial Congress of the world at large could be brought about in London, the results must be such as these:—the brotherhood of all civilised nations in Art and Science would be manifested, to the great advantage of all; the supremacy of England in her own specialties would be manifested to her own still greater advantage; the importance of "the minor arts," as emphatically not the poor relations of the Academical Arts but their equals, would be discerned, to the advantage of all intelligent industry, and this especially in England, where they were chiefly neglected; and sooner or later, the Government would be obliged to establish an efficient organisation for the much-needed advancement of public taste, as a moral and no less a commercial influence of the utmost value. Cole and his friends, few in number and of little importance, could never have accomplished much in this direction by their own unaided endeavours; but by the happy artifice of utilising the organisation of the somewhat obsolete Society of Arts, and persuading the Prince to place himself at its head—men and money flowing in abundantly then—they speedily accomplished all that could be desired.

"South Kensington," as a department of the Government, eventually came into existence under the dictatorship of Cole; and its success, in

spite of many drawbacks, has been perfect, and the Museum is supreme. Public taste has been not only advancing ever since, but radically changing; and, amongst the rest, Architecture has been expanding its embrace more and more from year to year till it now includes in the widest sense the whole empire of "Architectural Art." Although much has yet to be done in detail, the multifarious industries of furnishing, decorating, and adorning buildings are now so effectually grouped in the public view around the central industry of the great Building Art of history, that the narrow and exclusive, and indeed spurious dignity of academicalism has greatly disappeared, and architectural work is now finding its shortest way to the appreciation of the English people, even the cultured classes, by following the lead of "the minor arts" which the people more readily understand. And so it has come about for the present that our fashionable architectural manner—trivially called the "Queen Anne"—is in its true character merely the manner of the minor arts of decoration and furnishing, and of *bric-à-brac;* crude and feeble as yet, and transient, but destined, let us hope, to pass before long into some more muscular and more permanent style, to the better credit of the important movement which it represents.

At the same time, as regards the higher order of building-design we are not without cause for congratulation. The modern Classic style, which is, as it has always been since its origination, the standard mode on the continent of Europe, is constantly practised in England with sufficiently creditable success; and the Revived Mediæval, now confined entirely to ecclesiastical work, has lost nothing conspicuously in that branch since the days of Pugin, while it has gained greatly by the abolition of the whole department of "Secular Gothic," of which the London Law Courts, a most able but most inappropriate work, is the most ambitious effort, and the last.

Architectural Work in 1851.—In the beginning of the year 1851 the position of current and recent architectural business was this. The Palace of Parliament had so far assumed an effective appearance externally as to present to the public eye a design at once exceedingly magnificent in the mass, graceful in proportion, bright in aspect, and abundantly elegant in detail; somewhat monotonous and meretricious to the few purists who esteemed vigour and variety to be essential to good Gothic, but, with the ordinary observer, gaining instead of losing by the rich simplicity of its majesty. There can be no doubt that the composition of this truly splendid building was in *ensemble* Barry's, but in detail largely Pugin's; in fact, Pugin was still in charge privately of the task of "endowing the work with artistic merit" of that archæological kind which Barry could not accomplish by his own so far untutored although ever-graceful hand. Pugin had assisted Barry with his Gothic knowledge as far back as the time of the Birmingham Grammar School in 1833, and doubtless on other occasions since then when required; and

nothing, perhaps, was more interesting in the career of that wayward enthusiast than the loyal devotion to the cause of the Mediæval Revival with which he subordinated his own powerful personality to that of Barry throughout so many years of patient labour in the development—imperfect as he must have thought it—of the masterpiece of the time. Neither is it to be doubted that his influence was a most important factor in the conception of those schemes for a resuscitation of the subsidiary arts which were already acquiring substance and force in Barry's name, for the supplementary completion of the interior of the great edifice.

In ecclesiastical work a few men like Pugin himself and Scott were getting into good practice to good purpose artistically; whilst the ordinary majority of so-called Gothic architects throughout the country—almost all eclectic in the sense of being ready to design in any style whatever to order—were more or less occupied, in churches and schools, upon a very poor system of imitation, using "Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular" quite at random, as the fancy struck them or their clients, and always satisfied if they could achieve the most superficial resemblances on paper, without the slightest attempt to deal with those "true principles" of structural motive which were quite beyond their sight and knowledge. Amongst the most commonly admired of the recently built churches was the one by Scott at Camberwell; but Pugin's impracticability of personal temperament and his demonstrative repudiation of the national form of religion necessarily prevented his material success, besides that his manner of design was always less graceful than authentic. Of work that was not Classic, but scarcely as yet Gothic, there was a good deal in hand in the way of what was very fairly called Elizabethan, in public institutions, country mansions, and miscellaneous provincial buildings; whilst the "Secular Gothic" of later fame was just emerging from the "Carpenter's Gothic" of the previous age, and assuming something like a character of solidity, although scarcely of grace.

Turning from this to Classic work, we find the following examples recent or current. The British Museum, not quite out of the hands of the Smirkes (Sydney being now in charge as the successor of his brother Sir Robert), was at least one of the most monumental designs in the world. The New Buckingham Palace, Blore's weak Italian frontage to Nash's much better Greek quadrangle, was not admired by anybody. The Museum of Geology in Piccadilly and Jermyn Street, by Pennethorne, was much liked—a simple, massive, and graceful work of unaffected ability. The Treasury, by Barry, showed an exceedingly handsome façade made out of Soane's old colonnade by the simple artifice of attaching it bodily to a new-fashioned wall. The Club-houses by Barry, Burton, and Smirke in Pall Mall were regarded as models of Italian taste. The Army and Navy Club-house was just finished, a very

effective but strictly imitative reproduction of a well-known palazzo in Venice, and so acknowledged; the name of the architect, successful in a public competition, being professionally unrecognised. The Royal Exchange, by Tite, displayed a fine academical Roman portico, masking a substantial but commonplace Italian block of business establishments, with a good cortile within. (Donaldson had won the competition with a similar design of superior character, prepared for him in Paris, but was ousted by a flagrant City job; and Cockerell also had been grievously disappointed.) The London and Westminster Bank in the City was greatly admired as one of Cockerell's simplest but best works; Tite being "associated" with him here after the commercial manner, but claiming no share in the artistic merit. Dorchester House in the Park was in hand, by Vulliamy, and was deemed an elegant design: and Bridgewater House, by Barry, dates from the same period as one of the great architect's best works. Victoria Street, Westminster, and Cannon Street in the City, were the new thoroughfares of the day, but neither of them acquired artistic importance. The façade of the new Station of the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross, designed, or rather non-designed, by the engineer, was regarded with shame as a demonstrative manifestation of the most absolute and abased Philistinism. St. George's Hall, Liverpool, on the contrary—carried on by Cockerell since the death of Elmes—was accepted with the universal acclamation of all classes, as an artistic gem worthy of the commercial pride of old days, before the shabby doctrine, as fallacious as it is shabby, was ever thought of, that Art "does not pay." Speaking of Philistinism, it may be observed that in 1851 "the Decoration of St. Paul's" was under serious public discussion; it is under discussion still; and nothing of any great moment has come out of the discussion all these years, except an absurdly transcendental scheme of iconography by Burges, now forgotten, various projects for polychromatic painting, every one abandoned, some mosaics of fragmentary effect, and a too-splendid altar-screen which passed straightway into the unsanctified hands of the lawyers.

The Crystal Palace: Digby Wyatt: Pugin.—The Exhibition Building, although ostentatiously called "the Crystal Palace," made no pretensions to architectural merit. The ever-complaisant Cockerell—a man of princely mind, as of princely presence, whose failings always leaned to virtue's side—in his desire to speak well of it, could only suggest that it had merits of proportion due to its being planned on "the multiple principle," which he was glad to think had the authority of William of Wykeham in its favour. Even the decorating artists, when matters came to a finish, were obliged to excuse themselves, although already somewhat in the ascendant, by advancing the argument that it was impossible to decorate so strange a building. There were controversies of all kinds about the construction; but they were

of no moment. Paxton, a distinguished horticulturist, had sketched the idea on a sheet of blotting-paper, after a great greenhouse of his own; Barry condescended to add the vaulted nave; the contractors, Fox and Henderson, supplied for themselves the necessary engineering skill; Digby Wyatt, not long returned from a lengthened student career at Rome, was made superintendent of the works; Cole was the indefatigable administrator, in the capacity of what Beresford Hope used to call the "showman;" the Society of Arts, advancing every day in a jubilant if temporary popularity, which was of the greatest service in the circumstances, expended its augmented resources in keeping up the public interest to the necessary tension; and Prince Albert's earnest goodwill, and his popular authority, constituted a never-failing reserve of potential influence which was the fly-wheel of the whole enterprise. A shelter of iron-work and glass became recognised as the proper thing for future Great Exhibitions; but, whether we call it a Crystal Palace or a Greenhouse, nothing has come out of it to this day which can be called an æsthetic architectural advance with new materials.

However, if the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park did no more for architecture, it did this:—it brought the "minor arts" fully into public notice. Cole's ideal of art may almost be described as revolutionary in this respect. No artist himself, and a critic of only little more than *bric-à-brac*, a hard-headed plebeian to whom all academicalism was moonshine, and any feeling of delicacy or deference a delusion and a snare, he went as straight at his mark as a heavy dragoon, and his mark was industrial democracy. Professional artists of the great schools, as soon as he dared, he treated with undisguised disdain; their traditions he put in the dustbin, their history was nonsensical, their glory a mistake, their pride a mockery; indeed all was a mockery of true art. For true art, in his sight, was the masculine artizanship of the multitude, filling the home and the street, and not the temple and the palace only, with every kind of popular presentableness for the unaffected enjoyment of all. From the lips of a man like Eastlake or Cockerell, a doctrine of this sort, coming with all the force of eloquence, learning, and personal graciousness, would probably have entirely failed to obtain a public hearing; but this unlearned and ungracious "showman," keeping his mouth shut when expedient, his brain busy, and his heavy hand unweariedly at work, was exactly the man for the hour; and that he did his business well, no one, wince as he might at the mode, could for a moment deny. Of course he had good men under him; and, amongst the rest, although the professional architect was one of his pet aversions, he had the good fortune and the good sense to secure the aid of Digby Wyatt.

Fergusson used to say of Digby Wyatt that he had never seen his like in this very remarkable respect:—give him any conceivable subject of architectural work, and dictate to him any style you pleased, he could

without a moment's hesitation sketch off a design in all its detail which would be perfectly correct and perfectly complete. In other words, his mind was a storehouse of all the knowledge that was to be obtained from travel and the books. This could be said of him, moreover, with reference not to academical architecture alone, but to Architectural Art in the widest sense, embracing all the supplementary and subsidiary arts that could be named. Speaking more strictly, however, it was his knowledge of academical Renaissance Art in all its departments that was so intimate, and he only added to this for its own sake a similar but of course not equally profound appreciation of the most approved examples of other schools—a little Gothic included, but not too much. Academical he was to the core, but his academicalism was so broad that it was practically of the same revolutionary character as Cole's democratic republicanism of artizanship. With all "the industrial arts" at his fingers' ends, despising none, almost preferring none, here was the very man whom Cole wanted, a loyal and tractable man also, and not a vain man like too many of such artists, glad of the opportunity to exert himself, and to earn honour more than money. Years afterwards, when he asked the Metropolitan Board of Works to give him a District Surveyorship for a living, his testimonials, it is said, made such a grand array as to frighten the members; they would have nothing to do with so glorified a candidate, and he never applied again; but he eventually obtained the better appointment of architect to the East India Company; and if Sir William Tite, who took up the matter, had not, in his own rough way, done many another handsome thing, his action in this ought to be allowed to cover a multitude of sins of the more commercial order.

But Pugin had his share also in the Great Exhibition. The "Mediæval Court," as regards the interesting collection which it contained of industrial examples, albeit very ecclesiological and not unfrequently much too quaint for the popular gravity, was understood to owe to Pugin chiefly its unquestionable importance in the public eye and influence on the public taste. Here was an excellent opportunity for illustrating "the true principles of Gothic Architecture" in the broadest sense of the term; and architects and all other ornamentalists gave heed to what was thus taught, and discerned all the more clearly the existence of a soul in Mediæval work of which their "Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular" were but the outer garments.

It is perhaps to be wondered at, and perhaps not, that Ruskin in those early days was in violent opposition to the whole scheme of the Exhibition. His teaching, however, was contributing not a little, in spite of himself, to the revolution that had begun. If his dreams were dreams, and he had no idea that he was dreaming—"we are near waking when we dream that we dream"—they were at least pleasant

dreams that set many dreamy people dreaming like himself, leaving not at all an unprofitable impression on their waking senses. "Go to Nature" can never be an idle cry for art, even when it is not understood by the artist. Perhaps it never can be thoroughly understood, even by the declaimer; and certainly it cannot in architecture, and when the declaimer is but an amateur.

The Effect upon Architecture.—Within a very short time the effect of the new movement upon architectural practice began to be seen, in the persistent decadence of the old-fashioned Classical designer by the book. When Cole acquired at last that firm seat upon the public shoulders where he rode so long and so roughly, his contempt for this somewhat pretentious and pedantic personage was audaciously expressed; and it was understood, rightly or wrongly, that he had succeeded in imbuing the Prince Consort with the same feeling. But, quite independently of anything of that sort, it was plain that the instinct of the public was changing with reference to the whole question of art in relation to building. One of the first manifestations was the demand for a public museum of Mediæval Architecture, in which Scott took a lead, with the expressed hope of training architects a little and artizans a great deal. Gothic carvers, decorators, glass-painters, metal-workers, and the rest, could not, it was said, be procured, and must be created. They could not be procured even abroad, and must be created at home; and so it was not long before they were creating themselves. At the same time archæological societies, devoting their chief attention to the ecclesiastical architectural arts, were attaining increasing popularity in all parts of the country, and producing and publishing random papers of considerable learning both historical and ecclesiological. Local architectural societies, too, were increasing in number, and their discussions frequently turned upon the eager inquiry, what could be done to advance the practice of artistic work, to promote a spirit of truth in design, to discountenance more effectually the prevailing sin of counterfeit, to discover elements of natural criticism, to abolish copyism, and to substitute for the dogmatic authority of precedent a more intelligent rule. It was then that "the Battle of the Styles" raged in earnest. As one of those straws which show how the wind is blowing, the choice of a single phrase on an unimportant occasion to express a passing impression may sometimes be quoted. Professor Donaldson, in drawing up a casual index to a lecture or something of the sort, after tabulating, as was the habit of the eclectic school, century by century, the progress of architecture style by style, came at last to his own generation. He marked it with the one word "Chaos"—nothing more! It was in the contemplation of this chaos, therefore, and in the almost forlorn hope of initiating a new cosmos of whatever sort, that the Gothic enthusiasts made a rush to the front. Their programme was drastic:—Pack up the whole bundle of this exotic, effete, chaotic

classicism and eclecticism, from all the editions of Vitruvius to all the lectures of Cockerell; put it promptly in the fire; and see what the genuine national Gothic can do in its stead! For a time nothing came of it but strife and greater chaos.

But, at any rate, the year 1851 had not closed before Digby Wyatt's "Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century" had been brought well before the public. Whatever might be said of Architecture, there was Art still to the fore, in considerable quantity and to considerable purpose, if people would but open their eyes. In the same direction, immediately upon the discovery that the profits of the Great Exhibition constituted an available fund, the demand arose that a permanent museum of these Industrial Arts should be one of the public institutions of the country. In a word, "Architecture," the technology of *Architectus* "the chief of the workmen," was being promptly converted into "the Industrial Arts," the technology of the workmen themselves. Indeed, it was not very long before the doctrine was openly advocated, with various degrees of emphasis, that the spirit of building-art was properly the spirit of the artizans alone, with a definite, not to say rude, repudiation of this academical *architectus* and all his ways.

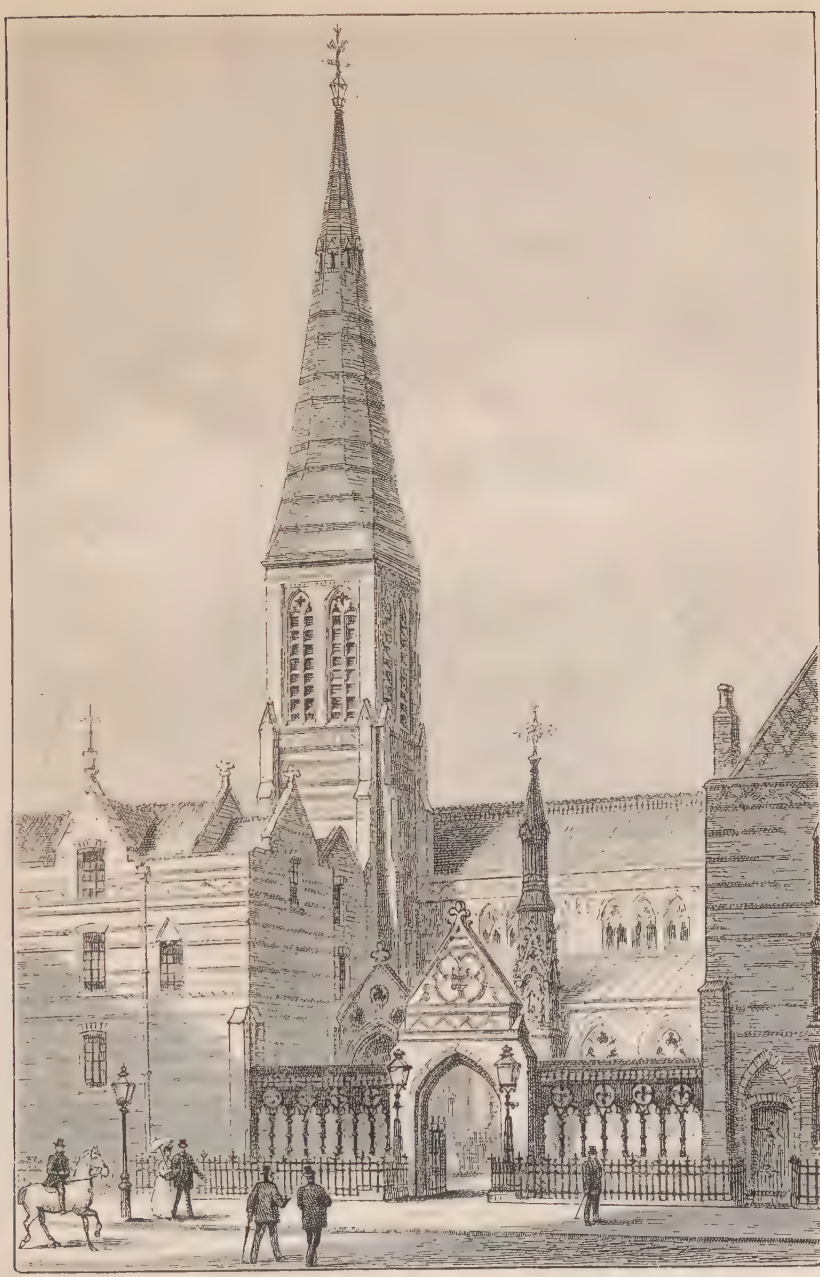
Draughtsmanship.—The circumstance must not be overlooked that draughtsmanship was destined to play an important part presently in the changed architectural world. The two great reforming agencies working in alliance—the Gothic Revival and the Industrial-art movement—were obviously both of such a nature as to encourage any style of brusque masterly sketching to take the place of the perhaps refined but feeble and emasculated mannerism of the previous mode. By degrees there came into vogue, accordingly, amongst the Gothic men—who now boldly claimed to be the only proper leaders—a system of piquant and powerful drawing, with "sharp perspective" and expressive touch, which not only covered slovenly detail, if such there were, but conferred upon the whole work the *curiosa felicitas* of the much-desired mediæval "character." Once fairly started by such masterly sketchers as Petit, this stimulating practice soon made its way into forms of increasing skill and earnestness, until Street and Norman Shaw at last were acknowledged to be perhaps beyond all rivalry. But as this fascinating architectural sketching was thus advancing so buoyantly, let it not be forgotten that a style of sketchy architecture would arise as a natural consequence. And so it has certainly done, and in a way that has exercised an influence by no means always salutary upon our national design; producing, alike in buildings, in furniture, and in ornament, a clever slapdash manner of treatment which cannot be relied upon. Pugin was a draughtsman of the masterly order, and would achieve his object with much recklessness of pencil; but it was reserved for Burges in 1858 to bring matters to a climax by a characteristically pedantic affectation of delight in a book of drawings of the thirteenth

century by one Wilars de Honecourt, which Viollet-le-Duc had unearthed. A more unprofitable style of delineation to imitate for modern purposes it would be impossible to discover, but it was genuine Gothic handiwork, and that was enough. Burges's eyesight was unfortunately very dim—a circumstance that ought never to be overlooked by the critic of his work, and especially of his colour—and perhaps his devotion to the spirit of Mediæval Art was here supplemented by a question of vision: but at any rate he seized upon this Wilars as a perfect godsend, and adopted and actually used his absurd mode as far as he dared. Others in recent years have far outdone Burges in this affectation of coarse and clumsy drawing; but the generality of Gothic draughtsmen have always adopted a much less pronounced manner, and certainly the artistic merit of their drawings and sketches is astonishing to their seniors. What, however, is to be the end of it in the way of personal profit to themselves, becomes an anxious question. Perhaps the outcome may be at least thus far beneficial, that the amplification of the minor arts may find an important aid in the forced transfer of many of these highly accomplished experts from the service of building to that of its less imposing but more popular supplementaries; and if this should be so it will be greatly to the advantage of Art at large. Indeed, there is something in the practical training of an English architect's office which seems to be peculiarly favourable to the attainment of that particular power of design which, in whatever branch of art, may turn upon the structural anatomy of the subject; and therefore it is not at all improbable that the architect's office may turn out to be the fittest of all schools for ornamental artists of whatever class. It is worthy of remark that the robust draughtsmanship of Street (done in writing-ink) was perhaps his strongest point; and his rapid sketching was always a marvel to those who had an opportunity of witnessing its performance. Architects ought to bear in mind, however, that the mere sketching of the most accomplished master, however masterly, has little real value for their proper purpose. Perhaps the "Queen Anne" designing of to-day owes a great deal of its feebleness in execution to this style of "effective" sketch-making being so much relied upon, in forgetfulness of the circumstance that it is the effect of the building, and not of the drawing, that has to be considered.

Progress from 1851 to the Death of the Prince Consort.—Gothic work soon began now to take the lead. Leaving out of account such a design as Pennethorne's Record Office in Fetter Lane—a very creditable composition of its kind—it was not long before Scott's domestic buildings in Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, led the way to the undisguised assertion of a right to build a London street façade in the style of a monastic retreat five hundred years old; and so rapidly did the movement grow, that in 1857 the great public competition for the Government Offices in Whitehall actually produced so many uncom-

promising Mediævalist plans that the adjudicators could do no better than divide something like twenty premiums equally and alternately between Classic and Gothic, a feeble artifice but a thoroughly English compromise. Then, to the great triumph of the reformers, when the authors of the first-placed designs were (as usual) set aside, who should come in the winner but Scott? That there was a little legerdemain about it need not surprise the reader; but the significancy of the incident was only all the greater. Scott, however, did not build in Gothic after all; for Lord Palmerston came into power and bluntly told him he must convert his design into Classic; and he did so, rather than resign the commission. In the meantime Westminster Bridge had been built in Gothic—a cast-iron girder-bridge in the likeness of Tudor arches—and highly approved, as would scarcely be the case now. At Paddington Railway Station, however, about the same time Brunel the engineer allowed Digby Wyatt to design some well-meant and graceful ironwork. In St. James's Hall Owen Jones made use of his own Moresco manner with sufficient success, but not within the rules of the day, being of neither the one "style" nor the other. Then the monumental column at Westminster attracted considerable attention; so did the Wallace Monument at Stirling; and a good many Gothic buildings of very "picturesque" character (on paper) began to appear throughout the country, as if to show what a discrepancy there might be sometimes between the poetic drawing of the architect and the prosaic brick-and-mortar of the builder. The Oxford Museum, by Deane or Woodward (Plate 219), now attracted a great deal of notice. The Temple Library was an exceptionally good quasi-ecclesiastical example of a different order. Small monumental works, such as memorials and drinking fountains, screens, reredoses, and tombs, were also produced in good or bad Gothic, and much admired; Gothic ornament was intimately studied and illustrated; and Gothic furniture of considerable characteristic merit, both ecclesiastical and domestic, was being frequently designed, if not always executed. The Houses of Parliament were steadily but slowly progressing all this time; and at length, in 1860, just as the Victoria Tower was near completion, the accomplished architect—or clever rather than accomplished—died at the height of his well-earned fame.

In church-design during this period notable progress was being made everywhere. Scott was very busy in his soft graceful style all over the country. Pugin built, as a challenge, his own St. Augustine's at Ramsgate. All Saints', Margaret Street, by Butterfield, was perhaps the most demonstrative of all examples; "a costly folly," Tite said officially at the Institute, for which Beresford Hope was held responsible—both in person and in pocket—but one that took the fancy of the Mediævalist world hugely. Raphael Brandon's Catholic and Apostolic church in Bloomsbury, dating from 1859, was a notably



219*a*. All Saints' Church, London.

meritorious design ; and in 1861 Street came to the front with his St. James the Less in Westminster, a work of sturdy merit in brick. New parish churches in various individual phases of the popular manner, were generally of an unassuming fourteenth-century motive, with elegance of proportion kept generally in view. Old churches were being restored everywhere ; and frequently, as is now thought, too freely altered and amended. The cathedrals were also being placed in the most expert hands, Scott taking the lion's share.

In Classic design there were, besides the great works mentioned a few pages back, the Junior United Service Club in Regent Street, by Nelson, Covent Garden Theatre by Edward Barry, the Grosvenor Hotel by Knowles, the Leeds Town Hall by Brodrick, the National Gallery at Edinburgh by Playfair, the Halifax Town Hall by Barry, and many other sufficiently estimable efforts in various forms of ordinary and sometimes extraordinary Italian.

In the Exhibition of 1851 the "Architectural Courts," coupled with the multifarious display of specimens of ornamental art-work in other departments, had undoubtedly produced a feeling of unexpected pleasure in the public mind ; and the penny-wise-pound-foolish complacency of the well-to-do British Philistine had received a considerable shock. It is not clear that the Prince Consort did much personally, but he allowed Cole in his name to strike the iron while it was hot during the next ten years with a persistency that never flagged. Amongst other things, there was the encouragement of certain special manufactures which particularly affected architectural design. Terra-cotta and other clay-ware may be assigned the chief place. Brickwork *in excelsis* promptly followed. It will be seen at a glance that a movement of this kind would be a very natural result of the Exhibition policy. Picturesqueness of treatment would also become more popular, even if the revival of the Gothic Arts had not so thoroughly prepared the way. Norman Shaw's sketches of picturesque Teutonic work of the old school were published, and made an impression ; and other artists of similar tastes imitated and emulated him. The study of antique furniture and ornaments also directed especial attention to the Rococo of the north-western quarters of the Continent ; and, in a word, the identification of Old Dutch, high and low, with Old English through this channel was progressing rapidly. Japanese ornament, too, had taken the fancy of the Parisians, and the fashion was beginning to spread to London. On the whole, the *bric-à-brac* of South Kensington Museum—no longer that of Wardour Street—was steadily gaining ground every day as a matter of intelligent study for the public at large.

Cardinal Wiseman, who had some good amateurish ideas about architecture, well says in one of his lectures, "It must never be forgotten that brick is the lowest of all materials." Terra-cotta cannot be put quite on this debased level ; but the use of terra-cotta and brick in

combination enables an architect certainly to be ambitious—or at least showy—and cheap, and the risk of lapsing into vulgarity is consequently all the greater. *Bric-à-brac* design, or inferior Rococo, in brick and terra-cotta, would be very likely, therefore, to become superficial, meretricious, and shallow; and it is not too much to say that this is the character which must be assigned to a great deal of the work which has been the result of the South Kensington movement, under the name (for the present) of the Queen Anne style. It would take some time, however, for this result to become sufficiently patent; and meanwhile the Secular Gothic, equally objectionable in some respects, if not so much so in others, held its ground.

In December 1861 the excellent Prince Consort unexpectedly died. His decease had no effect upon architectural progress, for his mind had not been in any special way of an architectural turn. It may be also said that the South Kensington administration under Cole, in the interest of the Industrial Arts at large, had become so firmly established through the influence of the Prince that his loss even in this respect was scarcely felt: the good he had done lived after him.

PROGRESS, 1860 TO 1870.—During this period the course of English architecture was very much in the same direction that has just been described. Classic or Italian design, improving in character through the rivalry of the Gothic, still pursued its way in municipal buildings of the better class; and the City of London in particular began to be greatly embellished under this general rule. Ecclesiastical Gothic flourished abundantly, and in perhaps a majority of cases to the very great credit of English skill. Secular Gothic came more and more into competition with municipal Italian. Brick and terra-cotta work was slowly advancing. Timber work began to assert itself here and there in the country, as a still cheaper mode of cultivating the picturesque; and "Sgraffito"—scratched ornament on plaster—followed, in the same spirit, although not with much acceptance. The subsidiary arts were growing in importance every day as the proper work of architecture, and studies and clever designs for small decorative subjects and interiors were especially attracting attention to certain architects as their authors. Art and science schools were prospering all over the land, and the grumblers against native taste were beginning to be challenged to the proof.

Amongst the multitude of churches there were St. Alban's, Holborn, by Butterfield; St. Peter's at Vauxhall, by Pearson; St. Finn Barr at Cork, by Burges; St. Vincent's at Cork, by Goldie; St. Stephen's at Kensington, by Peacock; Monaghan Cathedral by McCarthy; St. Mary Abbott, Kensington, by Scott; Tuam Cathedral, by Deane; a church in Edinburgh, by Rochead (good Gothic spreading to Scotland); and others by Ferrey, Street, Teulon, Brooks, Bodley, Seddon, Slater, and younger men, all equally worthy of the art. Besides there



219'. St. Vincent's, Cork.

were cathedral restorations and the rehabilitation of old churches everywhere; indeed, it seemed as if English genius had found its *forte* in this the most legitimate and by far the most interesting field of revived Mediævalism. In other departments the competition for the Albert Memorial produced the resplendent design of Scott; the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge engaged largely in building; Scott designed the Glasgow University; and Fettes College in Edinburgh, by Bryce, and the Aberdeen City Hall, by Peddie and Kinnear, were both admirable. Memorial crosses, reredoses, and timber roofs, were treated with great care and skill; Burges designed a Gothic warehouse, which however, came to nothing; and country mansions and provincial town buildings, schools and asylums, in secular Gothic, were advancing in number, and also in merit, such as it was; while the Manchester Assize Courts brought out Waterhouse, to follow soon with the more famous Town Hall of the same city.

Of the Classic examples there may be mentioned the Freemasons' Tavern, by Frederick Cockerell, an excellent work where one would not expect it; the Smithfield Markets by Horace Jones, commonplace and coarse; the well-known Treasury, by Scott (not only Classic against his will, but mutilated), with the India Office behind it by Digby Wyatt in co-operation with him—Wyatt having the credit of the cortile and the grouping towards the Park; the Junior Carlton Club-house, by David Brandon, an unaffected stately palazzo; the London University, by Pennethorne (Plate 206), a design with many good points (it was said the architect had first designed it in Gothic—eclectic Gothic of course—and was disappointed when required to change the style); the Albert Hall, by Captain Fowke (and his staff), a remarkably imposing design not without great merit, carried out under General Scott his successor; and a miscellaneous multitude of Town-halls, Banks, Insurance Offices, Hotels, and the like, of which it is impossible to say more than that they were of the usual type, sometimes good and often not. Facing Barry's splendid Palace of Westminster, there was built the expensive but artistically futile St. Thomas's Hospital; an all-too-prominent illustration of normal English taste, whose simplicity enjoys the honour, it is said, of being preferred by many to all the splendour opposite.

Some remarkable competition contests took place within this decade. First may be mentioned the extraordinary pair, or brace of select competitions for the National Gallery and the Law Courts respectively. They were instituted simultaneously—the last official recognition of the Battle of the Styles. For the National Gallery a number of architects of repute on the Classic side of the profession were selected, with two or three Gothic; for the Law Courts, on the other hand, the competitors were Gothic men, with two or three eclectics; a small number being thus on both lists. Large fees were allowed to all equally. The designs were publicly exhibited before adjudication. The result was, as usual,

a fiasco, or rather two. Edward Barry was the winner for the National Gallery, and no more was done in the matter. The lawyers could not come to any understanding about their Courts, until some one high in



Fettes College, Edinburgh.

219c.

the Cabinet was brought in, when he selected, to their great admiration, the hitherto almost unnoticed design of Street—a very odd production, even on paper, compared with the others, but one which was discovered

by the profession of architects, to possess an immensity of recondite merit of the Muscular Christian order when adventitious success caused it to be attentively looked at. Another competition of note was for the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. It was an open contest; a remarkably fine Italian design by Fowke (and his staff) was the winner, but it was never carried out.

Interior work of artistic minor architecture, permitted to be designed



219*d*. Manchester Town Hall.

by architects, instead of being chosen from the pattern-books of fashionable furniture-dealers, was all this time advancing slowly but surely; the best productions of "art manufacturers" were also being designed by architects; domestic furniture was becoming a speciality attached to such names as Norman Shaw and Eastlake; and modelling, carving, mural painting, and the design of glass painting, were acquiring increasing architectural vigour. In many other forms none

the less, the movement of 1851, sustained in one Industrial Exhibition after another all over the world, was steadily doing its beneficent work.

An interesting critical artistic question came up at this time with reference to the treatment of terra-cotta. At South Kensington, this characteristically revived material was a good deal used, and most prominently in the Albert Hall. At Dulwich College, an inferior building by Banks and Barry, it was also largely employed. At Kensington the antique Italian method of treating the material was adopted; at Dulwich it was dealt with in what was meant to be an improved way. It is well-known that the shrinkage of terra-cotta during baking is so great, that the blocks come from the oven somewhat irregular in line and size. At South Kensington the irregularity is accepted and brought into alignment as best may be by selection; at Dulwich the blocks are trimmed and surfaced. Which is the proper artistic system? Most critics will emphatically say the South Kensington. To dress up such a material when being fixed makes it, of course, as true as masonry; but it converts it in a manner into sham masonry, and its preparatory stage may be almost as carelessly managed as you please: to accept it as it comes from the kiln, and use it accordingly, makes it true terra-cotta, and so far true art—true industrial art, we may say, instead of counterfeit academical architecture; and the honest recognition of its native defects only confers upon it a new charm, and gives to the architect and to the critic a new delight.

It may be added here that the ingenious invention of Ransome's artificial stone, brought into public notice at this time, seems to have deserved greater success in architecture than it has achieved. Its use in such a building as St. Thomas's Hospital, for Corinthian capitals and pedestal vases at so much by the dozen, did it no good; artist-architects at that time would only discard it for that very reason peremptorily. But why so perfect an equivalent for natural sandstone cannot be developed for running ornament with artistic discretion—instead of moulded brick, for instance—at any rate in slightly ambitious designs of the inexpensive class, is a question that may fairly be suggested to the reader.

Progress, 1870 to 1880.—The leading architect now was Scott, and the dominant architectural work undoubtedly Gothic. In all the cathedrals the task of restoration was being steadily pursued; and the rehabilitation of the old parish churches, which constitute one of the most especial charms of England, was undertaken with enthusiastic delight in every quarter of the land. A remarkable competition for the new Episcopalian Church or Cathedral of St. Mary in Edinburgh brought the powers and peculiarities of Scott, Street, and Burges, into most interesting comparison; and it was manifest how Scott's success in this instance was due, as was his popularity everywhere, not to such archaic enthusiasm as Street's, or such ambitious and eccentric vigour as Burges's,

but rather to an almost feminine elegance, modesty, and repose, which always appealed successfully to the more Protestant sympathies of the great majority of the people. That such a style should eventually be called weak was inevitable, but it never failed to be pleasing.



219e. St. Mary's, Edinburgh.

New churches large and small, stately and simple, ornate and archaic, were still being built everywhere by public subscription and private benefaction. The cultivation of all the ecclesiastical "minor arts" was

diligently pursued, under the charge of zealous amateurs and equally zealous architects and manufacturers. Extreme ecclesiological doctrines were propounded by High Church architects with such absurd fervour that Roman Catholics wondered at the incomprehensible superstition of Protestants; the idle mysteries of symbolism, the emblematic devices of church ornament, and the legends of the saints! being studied much more than even the remains of Mediæval building. But the reason for all this lay below the surface. Artistic religion had become the fashion of the time; and everything, therefore, that could add to the pleasures of the imagination in public worship was eagerly sought out in ancient records, and devoutly accepted in daily practice. Church Architecture in particular came to be regarded with veneration by thousands upon thousands of cultured and even scarcely cultured persons of both sexes; and, in a word, one of the most delightful of all sentimental recreations came to be developed to the utmost in the form of ceremonial devotion. New names were constantly arising in the list of well-known architects; and it is to be observed that Englishmen were even employed to design churches in their own fashion in continental countries. Schools, it need not be said, parsonages, colleges, and various other such buildings were of course to be classed as ecclesiastical work; but it was not long before Nonconformist chapels followed suit as far as they dared, and even Presbyterian kirks on the very soil of Scotland; thus proving again that the development of Mediæval Art was becoming very much of a universal national sentiment, that is to say, that the appreciation of artistic public worship was now spreading through the whole community, apart altogether from that particular movement in the National Church of England in which it had originated.

The history of this period would scarcely be complete without some special reference being made to the peculiar rivalry of those very remarkable enthusiasts, Burges and Street. Both were men of a highly artistic temperament, but they were as unlike each other in every way as any two such men could well be. Burges was personally very much of a Bohemian, whimsical to absurdity, paradoxical, pedantic, and perverse; but possessing singularly refined powers of elegant, contemplative, and what is called poetic design, with a leaning towards nicknackery. Street, on the contrary, was robust, bigoted, and domineering; a solemn fighter, armed *cap-à-pied*, and with no weakness at all—except excess of strength be weakness—having a positive disgust for the elegancies and graces, and a sort of delight in architectural uncomfortableness which it was impossible not to admire because of the vehemence of it as an act of sacrifice. Both had a radical and contemptuous distrust of the nineteenth century in respect of all its ways and works; but their conceptions of the thirteenth or fourteenth were essentially different. Street might have been a building abbot, ruling with a rod of iron, if ruling well; or a building baron, sealing his delineations with the hilt

of his sword; while Burges would have been neither priest nor warrior, but some eccentric wandering star of infinite jest and humour. That Burges was the more refined artist the majority of pleasant people will probably maintain; but that Street was more grand there will still be some hard-mouthed admirers of the severities of art with equal emphasis, or even more, to affirm. At any rate, Burges loved the amenities and sunshine of Mediæval Art, Street its austerities and clouds. That they had a pretty correct appreciation of each other's shortcomings need scarcely be said; they were always competitors, never comrades, both great architects.

Secular Gothic was now more and more encouraged. Perhaps the majority of the municipal edifices in provincial towns, and even the business houses of London streets, were thought to be at their best when endowed with awkwardly pointed windows and doors, and embellished with vulgar grotesques. The whole enterprise culminated in the London Law Courts, when Street had got that extraordinary work fairly under weigh. No other architect living could have had the courage to do all that he did to push anomaly and anachronism to extremity. Without a word of exaggeration he may be said to have revelled in the fierce delight of the battle he was fighting against the habits and customs of the day. The lawyers had persuaded themselves to be charmed with his drawings; perhaps the artificial intelligence which they cultivate took kindly to the repudiation of common sense which spoke from every line. But when they came to occupy their dismal abode, their admiration was changed to despair. The sweet austerities of paper Gothic did not delight them in stone. They discovered that even the processes of the law could not be conveniently pursued with light and cheerfulness so demonstratively absent; the genius of architecture had avenged herself for the endurance of many contumelies by adding a new horror to litigation. The artist died in the arms of victory; and ever since that day the possessors of this *chef-d'œuvre* of Secular Gothic have been querulously complaining, with not a soul to pity them or to offer a hope of relief.

One of the most prominent public buildings of the Secular Gothic order was the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, by Waterhouse, a large edifice in terra-cotta both outside and in, dangerously ambitious and original, but not without many evidences of anxious and skilful pains. Sion College, on the Thames Embankment, by Blomfield, was a congenial subject, treated with success. The Prudential Assurance Office in Holborn, by Waterhouse, was another experiment in terra-cotta, considered to be sufficiently successful; although whether a building all in dark red can be permanently admired for stateliness is doubtful. Doulton's Terra-cotta Factory, built on the Lambeth bank of the Thames, as an advertisement of the material, was more ostentatious than historical.

In the provinces many meritorious examples more or less Gothic in character were making their appearance; in fact, by this time the "country architects" of England may be said to have in many instances risen quite to the highest metropolitan level in artistic excellence; thanks, perhaps, to the very remarkable exertions of the professional journals in the weekly production of lithographic illustrations. The



219*f*. Town Hall, Congleton.

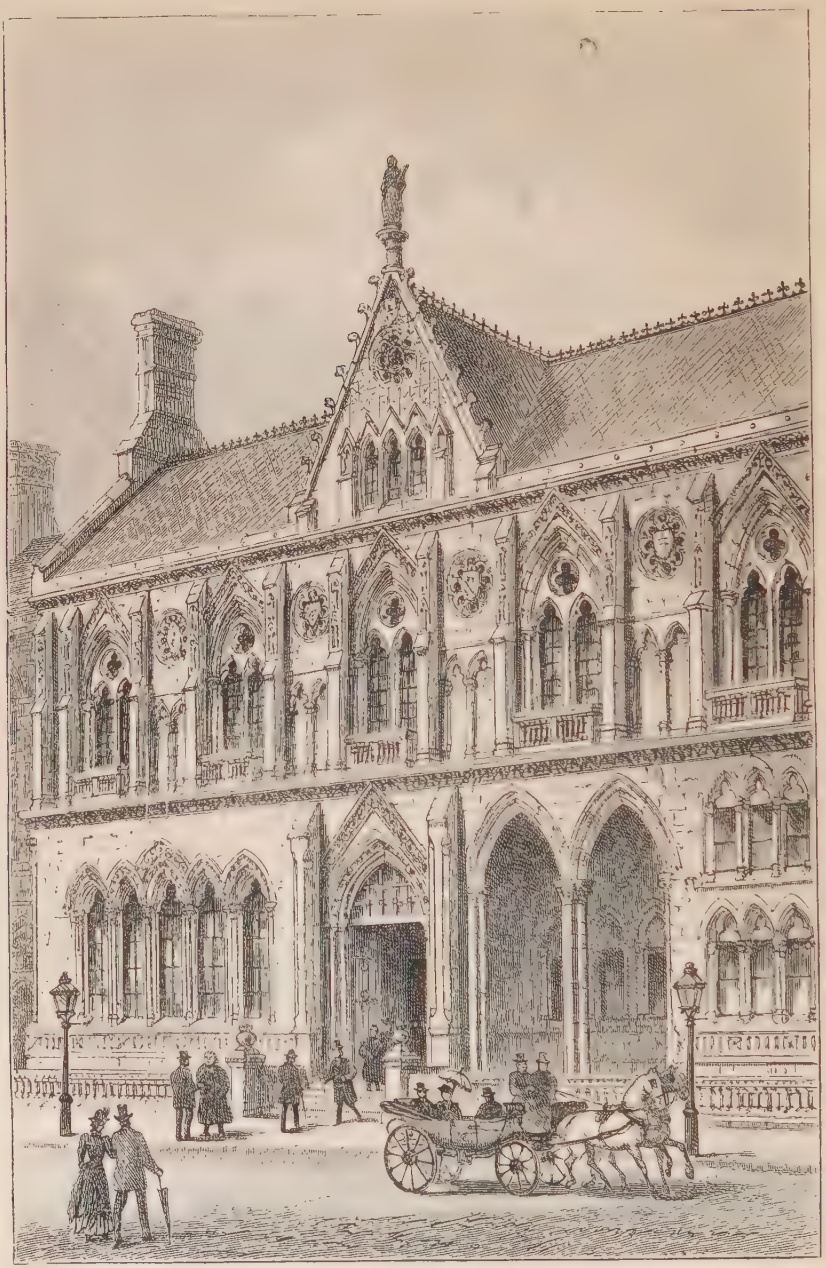
Plymouth Guildhall, by Hine; Collegiate buildings at Oxford and Cambridge, chiefly by the leading ecclesiastical men; the Bradford Town Hall, by Lockwood and Mawson; the Clarke Hall at Paisley, by Lynn; the Barrow Town Hall, by the same architect; Mason's College, Birmingham, by Cossins; with the celebrated Manchester Town Hall, by Waterhouse; these may be quoted as among the most admired works, besides numerous hotels and business houses in the chief towns. The great



219*g*. Bank, Birkenhead.

country-seat, Eaton Hall, must also be mentioned as one of the chief efforts of Waterhouse. It may as well be said plainly, however, that, judged by the best mediæval standards, there was one prevailing fault in most of these Secular Gothic designs, namely, an aspiring thinness, a want of broad repose, a sort of standing on tiptoe, always destructive of majestic effect, and particularly exemplified in modern Gothic work on the continent.

Although the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in high places were



219*h*. The Law Courts, London. North Entrance.

understood to be scarcely favourable to the revival of Mediæval Architecture anywhere, many of the new churches of that faith in England now exhibited Gothic magnificence of detail with great success; but they almost invariably combined with it a studied elegance which was too often repudiated by the Protestant architects. Perhaps the difference



2197. Bristol Cathedral Porch.

was only that which is always unavoidable between uneasy affectation and calm sincerity.

Meanwhile it was eminently characteristic of the particular line of progress which Architectural Art was pursuing that the design of separable ornamental subjects, such as reredoses, fonts, pulpits, thrones, chancel-screens and rails, and ecclesiastical furniture generally, even in

small country churches, together with the corresponding productions in stained glass, pavements, paintings, metal-work, and all else in the way of detail, gradually advanced to a degree of elaboration which must have satisfied the most exigent adversaries of Philistinism.



219*k*. Chimney-piece in Burges's House, Kensington.

On the other hand, in spite of the violent assaults which Secular Gothicism continually maintained against all that was Classic in theory, the standard style of Modern Europe fully sustained its title to reign in English practice. In London such works were achieved as the admirable addition to Somerset House by Pennethorne, Burlington House by Banks

and Barry, and the addition to the Royal Academy façade by Smirke; the City of London School, a showy but meritorious competition design by Davis and Emanuel, and the Temple Gardens Chambers, a still more showy château by E. Barry; the Criterion Restaurant by Verity (one of the actual designers of "South Kensington"), showy again but well modelled in French taste; and the new Post Office at St. Martin's-le-Grand, a somewhat too unaffected but very business-like structure, by the officials of Public Works; while in "the City" the denizens of the streets and alleys were every year more and more astonished to see the bright and imposing edifices which were bringing a glow of youthfulness into the old and dingy thoroughfares of trade.

It was in the very heart of the City, and at this time, that Norman Shaw's peculiar style of design first attracted serious attention, by means of a building in Leadenhall Street called "New Zealand Chambers," certainly a most courageous innovation. It seemed to be, in a word, a "Queen Anne" experiment of the most inappropriate kind in the most inappropriate place possible, rejecting *in limine* the rule of proceeding by degrees, and leaping at one bound to the uttermost limit of probable endurance, planting defiantly in one of the most sordidly bustling streets of the town, full of plate-glass shop-windows, and redolent of nothing in the world but the keenest economics, positively an old-fashioned Dutchman's warehouse, a sort of Rip Van Winkle of mercantile establishments, in which no one would expect from the look of it that the simplest transaction of the counting-house could be accomplished in less than a week. That it took the fancy of not a few, however, was certain; indicating, as we can now see, that the advent of *bric-à-brac* as a positive motive power in the more ambitious endeavours of architecture was imminent. The idea that the so-called Queen Anne style was suddenly introduced to the architectural world in this example—following a few others of the domestic class in the outskirts of the town and in the country—is a mistake; for Rococo Renaissance had been slowly making its way for fifteen or twenty years in the privacy of artistic or æsthetic society; but the discovery by the public at large of how far it had made its way was no doubt a surprise, and certainly it may be admitted that professional architects presently discovered that the new mode was calculated to meet a definite demand. This demand was in fact being created by the obvious failure of the Secular Gothic to meet the practical requirements of the community. The principle to which it had been appealing for so many weary years was the charm of the picturesque, as a reaction from the insipidity of commonplace classicism. This principle, it was now considered apparent, could be much better satisfied, and much more conveniently and appropriately, by adopting—it was as yet for the smoky streets of London only—honest brick instead of sham stone, and the "quaintness" of some sort of genteel comedy of building instead of the grim severity of

monastic archaicism. But why our own indigenous Elizabethan manner did not come to the front is an interesting point for speculative criticism. Perhaps the answer is threefold. First, Elizabethan had been tried in certain forms for a long time, and without sufficient success. Secondly, it was in principle already a latent element in the evolution of the new mode. Thirdly, as it was professed by the reformers—who were exclusively Gothicists and sketchers of the picturesque—that their mode was to be genuine native English, this would necessarily satisfy the Elizabethan claims, as suggesting native Renaissance of an early date; and so the public mind was prepared to give it a fair trial. In fact, looking back, as we can now do, upon the career of the Queen Anne movement,

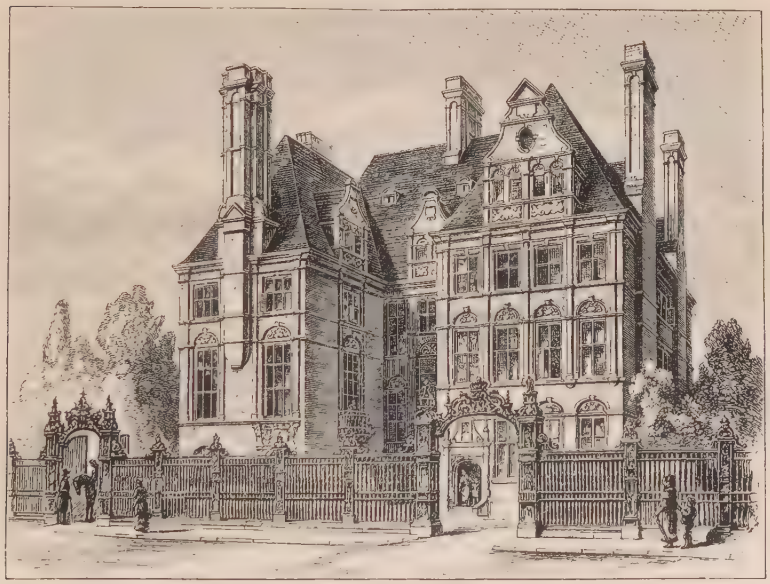


219*l*. Lowther Lodge, Kensington.

as a fashion that has by this time probably reached its highest level, and reflecting more particularly upon its interior elaboration with the aid of furniture and ornaments (exterior design being in a manner only the inside turned out), this idea seems worth suggesting: that the popular acceptance of it lies in an approval of the unassuming native domesticity of a home in the country, in place of the pretentious and vapid stateliness of a mansion in the town, because of its being more accommodating to modest English requirements, and more satisfying to modest English tastes. The particularly free and easy treatment of most examples would of course confirm this theory. A travelling American is said to have formulated his opinion of the new architecture in the remark that it seemed to be "Queen Anne in front and Mary-Anne at the back"—a jest which may at any rate serve to accentuate the argument that the

mode is unconsciously regarded as one whose homely merit is that it is not worth while either to counterfeit appearances or to conceal them.

Another illustration of the somewhat whimsical and at the same time not unsound instinct which at this period possessed the English mind was seen in the strong growth of the Japanese mania. The Parisians had led the way in this movement as a somewhat frivolous change of fashion; but when it reached London it became a serious matter of study. The purpose it served practically was to assist and support the minor-art party in society, by bringing forward piquancy of colour to assist piquancy of form. It can scarcely be doubted that it accomplished this end successfully. The old-fashioned chromatic harmonies were



219*m*. House at Harrington Gardens, Kensington.

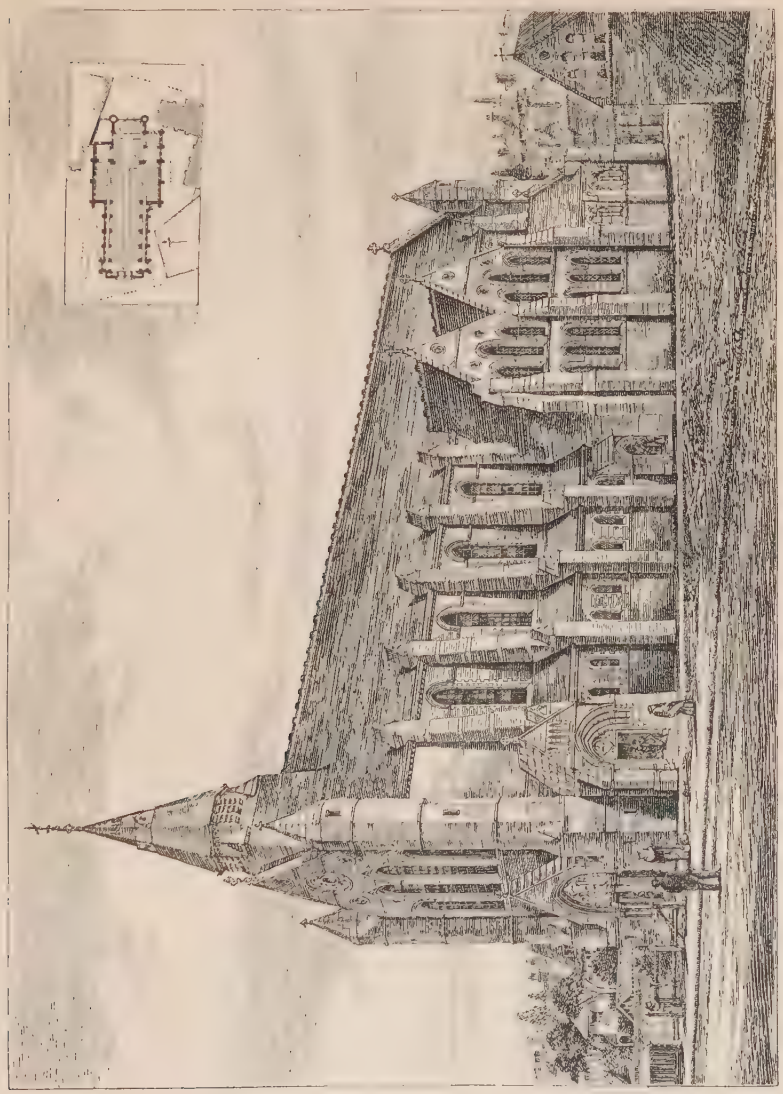
voted tame and effeminate. The Gothic discords had been tried as a reaction, and by all, except the most extreme enthusiasts, were pronounced to be only crude and coarse. But the Japanese combinations, including their occasional discords for relief, delighted every eye that was accessible to the influences of genuine and simple sincerity on the palette. There was an unmistakable vigour in the whole scheme, an absence of timidity, a simple muscularity of the rough-and-ready sort, which was exactly what the public intelligence wanted to supplement the rough-and-ready masculinity of the "Queen Anne" both in *bric-à-brac* furnishing and in *bric-à-brac* architecture. The reign of Japanese colouring in English art still continues, even where the beneficial influence takes other names. That our recognition of the artistic

merits of Japan did not stop short at colour was matter of course; but some of our cynical Goths may perhaps have wondered sometimes why we did not proceed to imitate paper dwellings and "quaint" joss-houses in our fashionable building.

Progress since 1880.—The fact does not seem to be so fully recognised as it ought to be that during the last few years this country has been passing through the earlier stages of a vital social revolution. But if, as seems undeniable, the commercial movements of the Empire have been substituting new ascendencies for old, the effect, as it concerns our subject, must be this:—that the "patronage" of the arts by the landed aristocracy is on the wane, and the "demand" for artistic work by the middle and lower classes of society on the rise. It is easy for any reflective person to put this proposition into the language of either political economy or politics, and the architectural result will be the same. Country seats on a dignified scale have almost entirely ceased to be built, and also the corresponding metropolitan palaces. Whole streets of large and costly residences are now produced on speculation, for sale to commercial magnates, who furnish them with a new kind of splendid liberality. The mansions at the west-end of London which are occasionally built to private order are of the same class, and charged with the same novel graces. The smaller dwellings of less pretentious people follow suit in their several degrees, till "Queen Anne" reaches the level of the country cottage, and cheap Japanese oddities excite a pleasurable wonder in the servants' hall. Thus the movement in favour of the unrestrained distribution of art in popular forms, as opposed to the exclusive traditions of academicalism, is still gaining strength every day, and in every quarter. The direct authority of the South Kensington policy of Cole—and of the Prince Consort no doubt personally—may not be so observable as it used to be; but its indirect influence is more and more pervading the whole community. *Bric-à-brac*, piquant ornament and decoration, high colour, picturesqueness, quaintness, brick and terra-cotta work, "minor art" in every form, and tasty furnishing almost to distraction, have so far superseded the slow, stiff, stately "fine art" of forty years ago that little of it is left, and the fashionable architect of the day is the designer of dainty rooms to please the ladies; and why not this in its turn?

Secular Gothic has virtually disappeared, and its former votaries are now the devotees of "Queen Anne." Their facile draughtsmanship, also, almost gluts the market; and if its effect upon design is frequently beneficial, it is not now to be denied that it is occasionally detrimental. For delusive drawing, especially in architectural art, is more dangerous than bad drawing; and it cannot be disputed that at this moment it is rampant, chiefly in the form of remarkably clever but remarkably fallacious pen-and-ink etching—a style of manipulation in which any desired effect, of breadth or brightness, playfulness or repose, richness of

ornament, or even costliness of material, can be made to attach to the very poorest proportions and feeblest and falsest forms, by the simple expedient of scratching over the paper with the entirely unarchitectural touches of "freehand."



Church of the Holy Innocents at Hammersmith.

219a.

Ecclesiastical design of the best order has not in any degree forsaken the Mediæval mode, and may be said to improve in grace; but the fashionable Rococo has undoubtedly seized upon schools and parsonages and the rest of the minor work. In fact, although the new mode,

being essentially of a domestic character, and laying hold of every subject that has a quasi-domestic purpose, would convert without scruple into something of the same kind even the stateliest subjects in the great towns, confounding altogether the monumental with the homely, we may



219*a*. St. Mary's, Portsea.

certainly congratulate ourselves that it has not attempted to attack the premises of church building, except in one insignificant attempt by Norman Shaw in a very free-and-easy London suburb, which was scarcely serious and has been quite unproductive of imitation.



The Schools, Oxford.

219p.

Amongst the most notable works in church building special mention must be made of the new Cathedral of Truro, by Pearson. The competition for a cathedral at Liverpool, however, was a more ambitious enterprise, promising us a revival of the pomp of ecclesiological profusion for the gratification of the pride of the merchant princes of the Mersey: but it ended, as almost all great competitions do, in nothing but disappointment, except that the design of Brooks was very remarkable for characteristic muscularity of treatment. Mere ordinary church work, although diminished in quantity, owing to the commercial depression of the time, has still been of high quality, and the places of Scott, Burges, and Street, as they successively died, were not unworthily filled by men of repute like Pearson, Bodley, Blomfield, and Brooks, while many younger men were continually making an equally honourable attempt to gain equal fame. The restoration of St. Alban's Abbey has awakened a great deal of controversy, owing to the unusual circumstance of Sir Edmund Beckett (Lord Grimthorpe) having paid the piper in consideration of being permitted, not only to call the tune, but to play it with his own hand, to the great scandal of the world of critics. Roman Catholic churches in excellent Gothic have still been produced; but others in the Italian mode have also made their appearance, one particularly fine example being the Oratory at Brompton, by Gribble. Nonconformist churches have been, as before, sometimes Gothic and sometimes Classic. More and more attention has been devoted to the detail of interiors; but the introduction into St. Paul's, London, of a magnificent reredos in Italian Rococo has not as yet initiated any new artistic movement.

In connection chiefly with ecclesiastical work, the practice of restoration in the form of renovation has come to be discussed with much anxiety, and indeed acerbity; architects of the school of Scott being contemptuously assailed by certain outside artists and amateurs led by the distinguished decorative designer Morris. The new doctrine in its integrity goes so far as to declare that all authentic work, even of the most recent recognisable date, regarded quite apart from its artistic merits, and solely on account of its historical character, ought to be held sacred, never altered, never renewed, not even patched, but maintained in its full authenticity by such means as will keep it in a mere condition of existence as long as possible; so that an "Old Mortality" would not be allowed even to "restore" the half-obliterated name upon a gravestone. No doubt there is something fascinating here in theory; but it has carried its advocates much farther than the owners and occupiers of old structures can conveniently agree to follow them, or the professional architects whom they consult as practical men of business. At any rate, the controversy, however interesting, is best regarded as an archæological one.

In Classical work we have had several competitions of high class;

one for the War Office and Admira'ty in London, resulting in nothing, as usual; another for the Glasgow Municipal Buildings, won, *not* so unprofitably, by Young; and a third for Municipal Buildings at Edinburgh, resulting as usual. A very remarkable edifice, vainglorious in the extreme, the Holloway College, by Crossland, is a ponderous imitation of a French château. Hotels, business houses, residential chambers, municipal offices, and other subjects of street architecture, in London and the provincial towns, have been produced in great abundance, and with considerable success, in various forms of academical and hybrid Italian. On the whole, however, the advance of the Queen Anne fashion has interfered very materially with Classic practice; at first it used to be ostentatiously called "Free Classic" by its leading promoters, but it has been so much more free than Classic, that the designation has died out.

It has to be particularly observed that in public competitions, and in the work of students at the Royal Academy and the Institute of Architects, the development of good Classic design has been of late increasingly well exhibited, and sometimes with an indication of French influence. The study of Renaissance detail of the Italian school, although frequently drifting towards the Rococo, has also done good service. Renaissance of the Flemish and German types—all called "Queen Anne" for short—has of course been at the same time a favourite study, but with less of artistic discrimination than of admiration for the dangerous quality of quaintness.

The buildings actually executed in the Queen Anne style have been numerous and of all kinds, good, bad, and indifferent, mostly indifferent. In commonplace examples, red brick has been the favourite material, and red tiling has been largely added in the form of prominent roofs. Ornamental gables, sometimes of enriched and sometimes of very impoverished effect, seem to be regarded as the leading feature of the mode, with all kinds of dormers by way of supplementaries, as if garrets were the most characteristic part of the accommodation. Huge chimney stacks, also, are thrust into view with the utmost hardihood, making them often the principal means of investing the composition with artistic merit—surely not of a high order. Wooden bay windows are deemed so essential that they are actually recessed into the wall rather than they should be omitted. Paltry doorways and incomprehensible little windows enter their protest against dignity without, and "nooks" and "ingles," twisted passages, breakneck steps for the sake of the questionable pleasure of surprise, and tipsy arrangements generally, carry out the same scheme of artistic merriment within. Breadth of treatment and repose are understood to mean the introduction of an occasional expanse of ostentatiously plain brick wall, or two or three windowless storeys in a shapeless tower, as a foil to the aspect of pleasantry elsewhere; and when the window-sashes are made like the lattices of a fancy bird-cage, and all the external wood-work painted with the brightest of white lead,

after the manner of a doll's-house, the domestic virtue of "the Queen Anne style" is at length fully asserted. In far better work than this, and in the hands of really good artists, the detail is still so coarse and corrupt—for the sake of "quaintness"—that even careful proportions and graceful forms fail to redeem the character of the composition; and it is doubtful whether any specimen of the style above the rank of a country cottage will withstand the commonest criticism twenty years hence. But nevertheless there is one respect in which we may accord a certain amount of praise to this singular fashion. The dainty lady-like furniture-design of some of the interiors is certainly more than pretty; it is minor art work *in excelsis*. Whether it is high class architecture is quite another question; but it fully illustrates the principle that academical pretension is giving way before the advance of the popular appreciation of art, more enjoyable because more simple.

It was the competition for the Offices of the London School Board on the Thames Embankment, won by Bodley, that first brought the more monumental Queen Anne into recognised popularity a few years before the period under review. The public schools built all over London by Robson, Stevenson being also concerned in them, came to be designed in a similar style, with unusual persistency, and, considering their simplicity, with frequent success. Examples of chief importance in other classes have been the Alliance Insurance Office in Pall Mall, by Norman Shaw; the City of London Guilds' Institute, by Waterhouse; the National Liberal Club-house, by Waterhouse; the Constitutional Club-house, by Edis; the Birmingham Law Courts, by Aston Webb and Bell; and the Imperial Institute, now in hand by Collcutt; and certain dwelling-houses at South Kensington, by George, have attracted particular attention by reason of the pretty audacity of their character in the author's drawings, and the very different but equal bravery of their effect in red brick. There is a warehouse in Oxford Street, also by Collcutt, which has probably the most showy façade in England for the money. Terra-cotta is largely used in all this kind of work, sometimes in crude and even vulgar red, and sometimes in one or another shade of buff, but never as yet with that really careful though free artistic finish of form and colour with which the material seems to be capable of being treated.

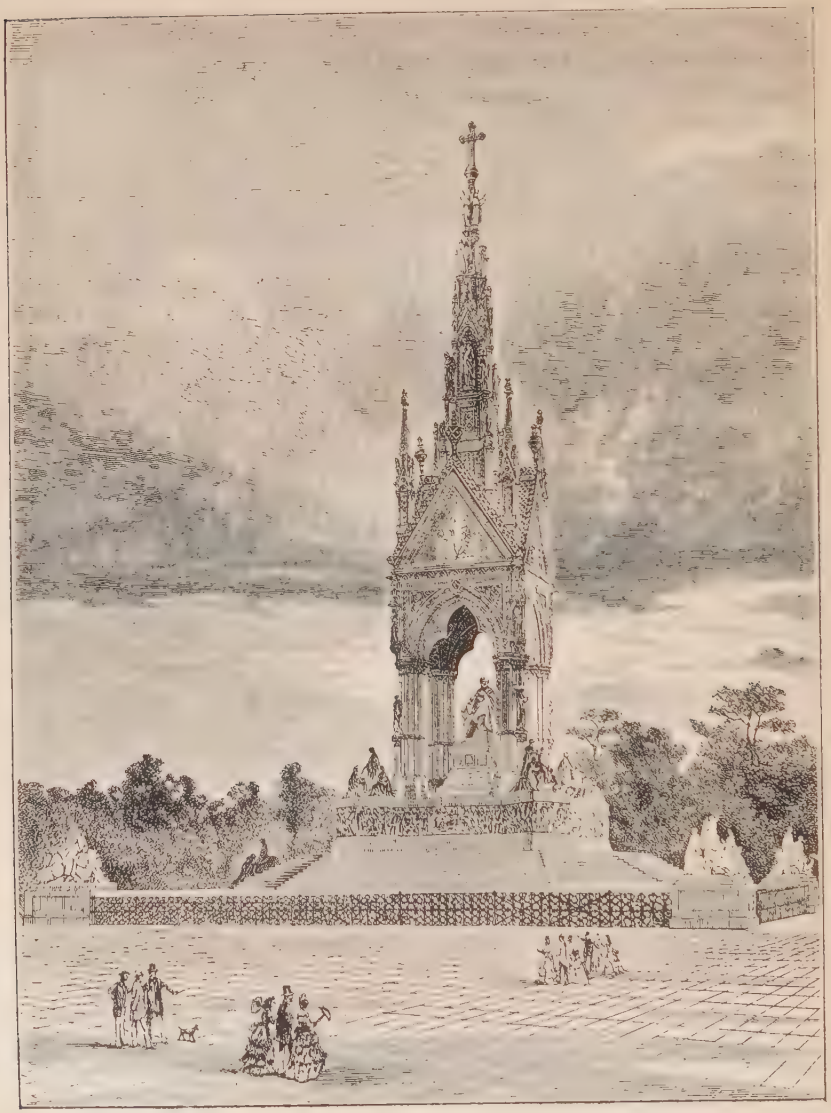
In direct connection with the development of Architectural Art during this period, it must be observed that the design of glass staining, mural painting, wall papers, carving, cabinet making, metal working, colour decoration, upholstery, and so on, even to the furnishing of ship cabins, has been engaging more and more the attention of highly educated architects, proud of their success.

That the immediate future of English architecture is largely bound up with the progress of the present fashionable movement is a fact that must be looked fairly in the face. Absurd as its inferior manifestations too frequently are, palpable as are its critical shortcomings even in the

most favourable circumstances, it evidently contains an element which creates popularity by meeting a popular want, the demand for miscellaneous art for the multitude—not the mob, but the public at large. Even church design may not be long unaffected by this strong motive power. When what is spoken of as Romanesque, or even Byzantine, is often suggested as the next step in Gothic modification, it is not at all unlikely that it may turn out to be some species of Renaissance—not Rococo—which shall combine with ecclesiastical solemnity a certain relaxation, in a direction more gracious than that of the mere slapdash picturesque. In municipal buildings it is still more probable that the less severe details of Renaissance work will come to be accepted, introducing a brighter or more playful form of the standard Modern European, which may then take general possession also of ordinary street architecture and domestic design in towns. If this should so turn out, then the style of thirty years hence may be a novel Anglo-Classic, robust in general character, carefully elegant in moulding and in modelling, picturesque within the limits of repose, and at last, like the Franco-Classic, no longer exotic and anomalous.

Illustrations of Recent Architecture in England.—The examples which are here presented must be necessarily very few in number; and they cannot pretend to constitute anything like a discriminating selection, as regards either the special merits of the buildings or the title of their authors to more distinctive mention. The reader must be asked to regard them as being in a great measure taken at random and under obvious difficulties, for the simple purpose really in view, namely, the submission for his consideration of certain designs which are sufficiently characteristic historically of the work of the age. An adequate presentment of that work in its entirety is happily to be found in the admirable illustrations which the professional journals have for many years past so copiously supplied to the world.

We may very naturally take first the universally known and admired monument erected in London to the memory of the late Prince Consort, in a certain sense the *chef-d'œuvre* of Sir Gilbert Scott (Illustration No. 219*q*). The simple magnificence of its design, and the extraordinary splendour of its adornment, confer upon the Albert Memorial the very highest distinction amongst modern works of art; and it happens that its peculiarities of execution serve in a certain measure to emphasise the idea of strait-laced academicalism being undermined by the more popular principle of the day. It could certainly not be claimed that Scott was a doctrinaire of the school of Cole; but he (like Pugin and Burges also) was an equally earnest advocate of the same liberal views of the Arts in a different form. Cole was an overthrower of the academical system; Scott was a reformer of that system. Cole conceived the idea of almost abolishing the architect, as a pretender, and setting up the artizan in his place as a reality; but Scott's aim was to



219*q*. The Albert Memorial.

utilise the architect as a reality to the utmost, in the capacity of a trained general officer of artizans, the chief of all the workmen. His continual cry, it is true, was for better artizans, not for better architects; but these ideal workers were always to work under an ideal architect as chief-worker—one who should direct them, not as a mere commercial agent, but as an expert universal artist rejoicing alike in all their work. The Albert Memorial was of course not actually intended for an object-lesson in this direction; but those who care to study its motives will not find it difficult to make it one. If it had been built of naked muscular masonry and nothing more, divested of all accessorial work, the mere academical architecture might have become, by compulsion, much better than it is; but as an essay in the combination of many arts on perfectly equal ground, none competing with the architecture, but all constituting the architect's scheme of design, the effect upon the public intelligence is a far grander result. The other day the French Minister of Fine Art found himself under the necessity of commenting to the Legislature on the difficulty he experienced in procuring harmonious action between the architects of public buildings and the other artists employed under their control. Now it is well known that the French decorative artist has long occupied what may be regarded as a superior position to the English; and especially when such a thing as sculpture or other decoration of a high class is in question. It is equally well understood that in France the education of the architect is conducted on the most laboriously academical lines; and indeed that the same may be said of all art-workers whatever. Contemplating, therefore, the incident before us in a serious light, are we to be afraid lest the better education of the "minor" artist in England, and the better recognition of the equality in dignity of all artists, may lead to discord of this kind? Not necessarily, it is to be hoped; but how far is such a risk to be avoided by utilising the architect more and more as master of all arts? One thing at least may be said, the peculiar technical training which is involved in the practical acquisition of professional architectural skill seems to imbue a properly constructed mind with sound principles of anatomical design which are not to be acquired elsewhere.

Taking the other illustrations in the order in which they are placed, Fig. 219*a* (page 135) represents the celebrated Church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London, by Butterfield; the production of which marked the inauguration of a new architectural motive. This was, in short, the elevating of the standard of the highest of High-Church building; and the standard-bearer was Beresford-Hope. It has to be observed that one of the primary principles in this extreme kind of ecclesiastical architecture seems to be the coercive production of the "dim religious light" of the poet. Internally, at least, the express exclusion of common worldly daylight—which has been a rule from the earliest ages to the latest wherever mystery had to be cultivated—contri-

butes so greatly to the creation of a feeling of awe that it becomes a direct and leading historical element in Art. It may be suggested that one chief difference between the forms of worship of the Romanists and those of the Protestants (until lately) is that in the one case the light of day is intentionally shut out, and in the other intentionally let in. In the one case, accordingly, the exercise of imagination is encouraged; in the other it is restrained. That imaginative worship develops into artistic worship has been abundantly proved; and it need not be denied that the unimaginative and the inartistic go equally well together. With regard, however, to the external mannerisms that come to be cultivated as if in harmony with the darkened effects of ritualistic interiors, it seems to be questionable whether they ought to be considered as normally austere or not. Inasmuch as colour decoration very promptly asserts its importance within, this soon leads to the study of colour without; but colour in artificial obscurity and colour under the open sky are obviously different things. Turning then for a moment to the architecture proper of All Saints' Church, it may suffice to observe that it is intentionally gloomy both inside and out; but if we direct our attention to the spire alone, we may consider that we are contemplating the most characteristic feature. The reader will ask himself, of course, whether it is a good or a bad composition; and he may answer the question as he pleases. But it must be remembered that, at the time this spire was built, the more austere and graceless styles of Neo-Gothic had not as yet been evolved, the spurious merit of *malice prepense* had not been suggested to the mind. It may fairly enough be recorded that "Butterfield's spire" was generally pronounced to be intentionally poor. But it must be admitted at the same time that its poverty did not fail to gain upon the affections of a great many acute critics, and it may be added that it cannot be said to have lost its hold to this day. If, however, the student cares to discriminate with sufficient pains the peculiarities of treatment attaching to the work of the leading architects respectively of the modern Anglo-Gothic School, he will certainly find that intentional severity has never won permanent approval, but that a desire for pleasantness always has: even in this it is better to smile than to frown, and the merits of All Saints' Church are generally voted to be, at the best, needlessly lugubrious.

St. Vincent's Church, Cork, by Goldie, (No. 219*b*, page 138), is offered as a good example of much more agreeable design; a Roman Catholic example also, and an Irish example. There is no reason in the world why good Gothic should be in any degree of horrid aspect, and much of the authentic ancient work was very notably different.

Fettes College, Edinburgh, by Bryce, (No. 219*c*, page 140), is selected as a Scotch work both of pretension and of merit. In Scotch buildings of the best class there is almost always exhibited, if possible, a tendency of a pseudo-patriotic kind towards the introduction of certain quite obsolete

features—such as the tourelle or angle turret and the stepped gable—which are supposed to be essentially of native character. Critically this can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as an affectation, and scarcely in any circumstances an excusable one. The reason seems to be that, up to the time of Queen Elizabeth, Scotland had much more sympathy with France than with England; Queen Mary, it will be remembered, was actually Dauphiness of France. Therefore, when the English gentry were building what we call Tudor and Elizabethan mansions, the Scotch were building a sort of French chateaux. Accordingly, so obstinate is human custom, that when a Scotch architect of the present day puts "pepper-boxes" and "corbie-steps," *per fas aut nefas*, alike upon his Italian, his Gothic, and his Queen Anne, we must pardon him for his patriotism's sake, and only most respectfully ask whether his designs would not be a little better without them.

The Manchester Town Hall (No. 219*d*, page 141) will probably always be regarded, historically at least, as the *chef-d'œuvre* of Waterhouse. At the time of building, it was certainly the most demonstrative work in Secular Gothic that had been attempted, and perhaps the most successful. There is this remarkable contrast, amongst others, between France and England, that whereas in France the great provincial cities are more or less respectful subordinates of Paris, in England they are more or less distinctly independent and almost aggressive rivals of London; in other words, the local "ratepayers," if their community be big enough, and their funds and borrowing powers consequently liberal enough, and if their local pride can be sufficiently aroused, are able to build quite as grandly as the Government, and much more independently of control. At Liverpool, amongst the multitude of more ordinary municipal edifices, all costly enough in their way, there stands one, St. George's Hall, (Plate 203, page 83) of which it is not too much to say that no Government at Whitehall would have ever dared to propose the building of such a structure; even that grand escapade of Parliament in the architectural way, its own Palace of Westminster, compared by measure of working accommodation, comes far behind St. George's Hall in largeness of ideas. At any rate, the Town Hall of Manchester is a truly splendid specimen of the liberality of an English municipality; and a proof of the soundness of the modern English principle of local self-reliance, as opposed to State assistance, for the advancement of Art. How far the style of design is suited to the business that goes on in the edifice is not a question to be now taken in hand; it has passed into the province of historical, not practical criticism; but one thing that may certainly be said is that the painstaking architect has made the best of both proportions and detail.

The church (or cathedral) of St. Mary's, Edinburgh, by Scott (No. 219*e*, page 143), is the outcome of the celebrated competition of designs in which Burges and Street so much distinguished themselves. Street's

design was archaic and austere, as usual; Burges's was ambitiously developed, refined, and elegant; Scott's was more unaffected, simple, and in every way moderate and modest—what an influential minority call commonplace and weak, but a still more influential majority approve and accept. The churches of Sir Gilbert Scott are so numerous, and so universally distributed, that there are very few persons of taste who have not seen one or more specimens of his ever gracious and pleasing style, amiable and unoffending like his own nature. The present example, although quite characteristic of his mode, does not pretend to illustrate it to the very best advantage; it is presented more for its historical value.

The Town Hall at Congleton (No. 219*f*, page 146), is a specimen of the work of that gifted artist but inveterate Bohemian, Edward Godwin. It is considered to be one of our best examples of Secular Gothic, and all the more so because it is small and unambitious. Its graces of proportion—the chief object of the designer after all—speak for themselves, even on so inadequate a scale of delineation.

A Bank at Birkenhead by Seddon (No. 219*g*, page 147), is another successful example of Secular Gothic, unassuming in character, and with its Gothicism duly modified to accord with the conditions of modern business and residence. It is only fair to say that judicious modification of this sort characterised a great deal of the ordinary designing of the Gothic school; so that it was often matter for regret that the inappropriate features and details which were held to be indispensable for style should not have been more ingeniously dealt with for convenience.

The next illustration (No. 219*h*, page 148), shows one of the best portions of the famous Law Courts of London, by Street. It would be useless to give the great Strand façade, for several reasons. Its composition, critically considered, is still the subject of controversy, and opinion is commonly adverse to it. Moreover, everybody knows it by heart. Lastly, it is too large as a whole, and too fragmentary in any part. But if we could reproduce on an adequate scale the architect's autograph drawing (it is in the gallery of the Royal Academy as his diploma work), it may safely be said that anyone might reasonably be excused for denying that it represents the building. The exquisite touch of Street's draughtsmanship was phenomenal; it consecrated anything. Did it deceive himself? Very probably it did. It may not be amiss here to refer to the always remarkable difference between English architectural drawing and French. One sees at a glance that the French drawing—say a delicately shadowed elevation—is essentially Classic, and that the corresponding English drawing—a picturesquely and indeed rudely sketched perspective—is as thoroughly Gothic. It is the same difference, of course, that prevails between the French building and the English building. There was the same difference, again, between the Classic designing and building of Greece and Rome and the

Gothic designing and building of Mediæval Europe. The Parthenon was built of marble delicately wrought; it might just as well have been built of silver, or of crystal, or of steel, and the greater the elaboration of workmanship the more exquisite the effect of finesse. The same, to a certain extent, may be said of even such modern buildings as Wren's St. Paul's. But a glance at Westminster Abbey, or, let us say, Canterbury Cathedral or York Minster, suggests a very different style of treatment. Refinement of workmanship would not merely be wasted, it would be destructive of character. Much more appropriate would it be to build the great picturesque pile with the coarsest material and the roughest craftsmanship. Within reasonable limits, the ruder the work the more muscular and impressive it is; like an ancient Gothic song, of war or peace, revenge or love, all equally rude and muscular if really Gothic. But (returning to our draughtsmanship) what is the result of this radical difference between the French mode and the English? If the actual building is intended to be executed with ordinary neatness and precision, the French drawing is obviously the representation of truth. If, on the other hand, the English drawing is to be the equivalent of truth, the execution of the building ought to be equally rough and ready, or the effect of picturesqueness is very likely to be a failure. Indeed, it was for this very reason that such failures in Secular Gothic were so numerous; and in "Queen Anne" work the case is still the same. The one advantage in the English system is the use of perspective draughtsmanship, which is carried to great perfection as regards the effect of the solid *en bloc*; but the special merit of the French system is the encouragement it affords for painstaking modelling *en détail*.

A favourite production of Street's in his more proper province of ecclesiastical design was the new porch at Bristol Cathedral (No 219*f*, page 149). Although, as matter of historical criticism, it is no doubt quite correct to identify Street with the stern duty, as he thought it, of forcing comfortable people at the end of the nineteenth century to accept the uncomfortable architectural conditions of the thirteenth, as being the narrow way that leadeth unto life, it would be altogether wrong to suppose that he was devoid of the sense of graceful and even elegant proportion when he permitted himself to please his eye though his heart might ache. The engraving, by the way, as the reader who is accustomed to Street's work will perceive, is produced by photographic process from an actual drawing of the architect's, bearing his signature, and will serve, therefore, to illustrate his charming style of handling as well as his true artistic taste.

It may require a little reflection to understand the reason why the next illustration is presented in conjunction with the last as a specimen of the work of Burges (No 219*k*, page 150). It is hoped that justice has been done in other pages to the merits of this quaint man of genius: and if the reader has grasped the true character of his mind he will

clearly see that the famous chimney-piece in the house which he built for himself in Melbury Road, Kensington, has been selected (by an appreciative friend) as a good thing to know him by. It must not be imagined that our odd enthusiast meant this to be a travesty of art; very much the reverse. He jokes with his subject, no doubt; because he always had a leaning that way, and where was he to indulge it without restraint if not in his own house? Thus it is that this example is Burges pure and simple. Of the peculiarities of the architectural design nothing need be said except that they are Burges's pleasure for the moment. The sculpture is equally his own work, and his own pleasure. The whole affair is charged with jocosity; but if those who are not already in the secret will understand that the foliated corbel-course over the fireplace has the alphabet half hidden amongst the foliage, their attention may be directed to one end of the lintel, where they will see that the letter H has been "dropped," as a touch of humour *not* beyond the reach of Art.

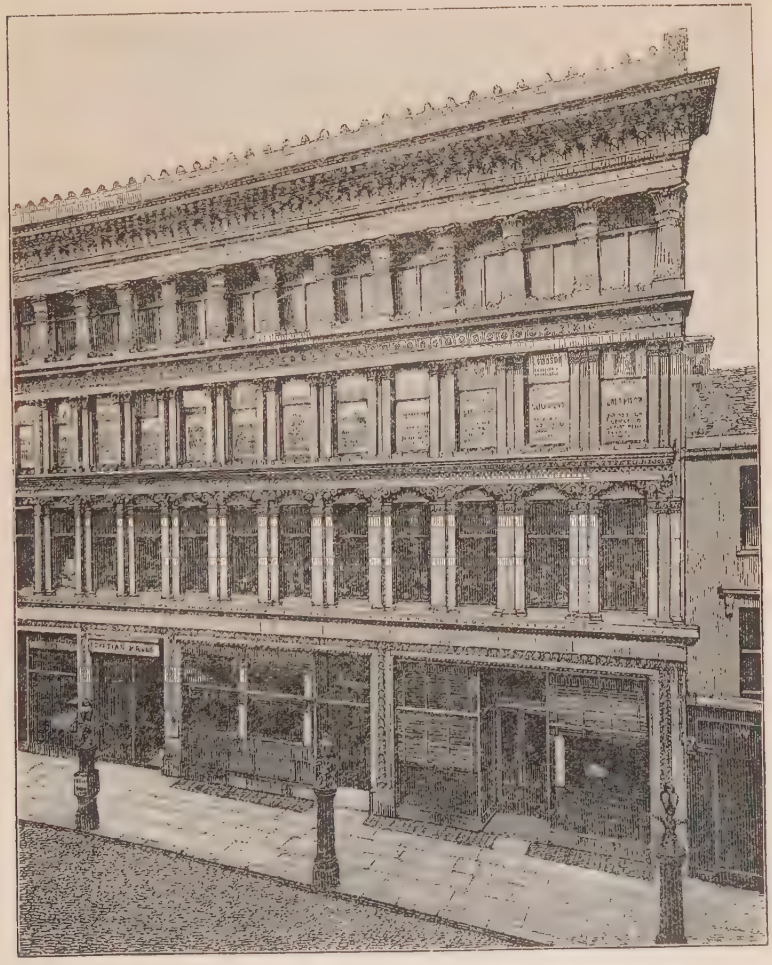
Lowther Lodge, Kensington (No 219*l*, page 152), is one of Norman Shaw's favourite works, and exhibits very well the merits of the best order of Queen Anne design of the domestic class. It is obviously in domestic building that such a style of architectural treatment is really at home; and the refined proportions of some of this architect's simplest brick houses are certainly very striking. Whether equal success can ever be hoped for in applying the more ambitious version of Queen Anne, or Flanders Rococo, to public buildings in our towns, the reader must determine for himself.

The House at Harrington Gardens, by George (No 219*m*, page 153), shows a style of treatment which is very much admired by many, as a more legitimate "Queen Anne" mode. English it does not pretend to be, and so much the better. But here again is a case in which extraordinarily picturesque draughtsmanship goes far to produce architecture on paper which fails to maintain its charm when realised in red brick. The courage, however, of some of this architect's designs is what seems to be their most remarkable merit, and the complete accord of interior with exterior in supporting the accepted histrionic idiosyncrasy.

In the Church of the Holy Innocents at Hammersmith (No 219*n*, page 155), we have an exceedingly characteristic specimen of the very popular work of Brooks. The motive of this architect seems to be to emulate the austerity of Street, but to be courageously original in that direction where Street would be strictly authentic. The muscularity of all Brooks's work is undeniable, and its simplicity and independence.

St. Mary's Church, Portsea, by Blomfield (No 219*o*, page 156), may be studied as a sound example of quite unaffected and careful design in a new church of large dimensions for practical English purposes. It is a thoroughly modest work, and the accomplished architect can well afford to have it looked at somewhat askance by those who prefer high action to repose.

Many admirable buildings have of late years been carried out by the university authorities at Oxford and Cambridge; all more or less animated by an imitative spirit of course, for our two great seats of learning are not much modernised as yet. Various leading architects have been employed, but the "Schools" at Oxford by Jackson (No 219*p*,



219*r*. Warehouse, Glasgow.

page 157), may be deemed particularly well worthy of illustration, as showing how one of the best opportunities has been made available for producing an ensemble of the highest order of attractive proportions. The proper name for the style of design the reader may determine for himself, with due regard for the exigencies of the day.

The last of this series of illustrations (No 219*r*), represents a very

peculiar style of design which was the specialty of Alexander Thomson of Glasgow—"Greek Thomson" as he was called. There are several prominent works of his in Glasgow which display most remarkable merit. He carried the Hellenic motive back to meet the Egyptian, and modernised both with much painstaking of detail. He hoped to be the founder of a new school, but that was impossible.—Ed.]

CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE.

[Canada.—The influence of English practice upon the architecture of North America must be considered in some detail under the head of the United States; and the progress of the art in Canada might not improperly be dealt with as part of that question, inasmuch as the enterprising practitioners of the Great Republic seem quite disposed, and very naturally, to claim the Canadian towns as a portion of their own professional territory. But whether the English authority is accepted from England directly, or through the United States as an intermediary, is immaterial, the recent architecture of Canada has unquestionably followed close upon English development. Most of the best work seems to have been actually done by Englishmen: the French element does not appear to make itself specially discernible: and there is no separable native influence of any importance. In the old-fashioned towns the style of design is of the same quaint, but valueless and spiritless character of commonplace eighteenth century work which belonged to the settlements of New England, and indeed to other British colonies. But within the last half-century the use of the Italian style for the municipal edifices, the Gothic for the ecclesiastical, and the local patriarchal mode for the domestic, has been the rule, the Secular Gothic making an effort here and there, and the Free Classic taking its place in due course, but all in the modest way that befits a community considered to be rather behind the age in these stirring times. More recently, however, several buildings of much higher pretensions have made their mark: and our best course will be to present characteristic illustrations of these, which can speak for themselves.

The building at the McGill University, Montreal, shown in Plate No. 219*s*, represents very fairly a sufficiently graceful treatment of Classic—indeed of Neo-Grec, although scarcely in French form—on somewhat academical ground. The reader will find several indications in this design of that kind of independent thought which is characteristically American.

The Parliamentary Library at Ottawa (No. 219*t*), is a portion of a

very extensive Palace of the Legislature, all in the same bold and meritorious Mediævalist manner. Whether the style in itself is appropriate to the traditions of the country may be matter for debate, and no doubt is so amongst local critics ; but the successful picturesqueness of the design cannot be disputed, and probably it will be acknowledged that the special massiveness of treatment accords sufficiently well with the climatic conditions.

Numerous interesting examples might of course be given of good modern work in Canada, but these two will suffice to satisfy the reader of the superior quality of the best of it.



219*s*. McGill University, Montreal.

Australia and New Zealand.—Speaking generally, the progress of architecture in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Auckland, Wellington, and other towns at the antipodes, has been on the same lines as in the United States of America. The influence of English practice has been similar, the same styles of design have been accepted, and the same treatment has been followed. At the epochal date of 1851 it may be

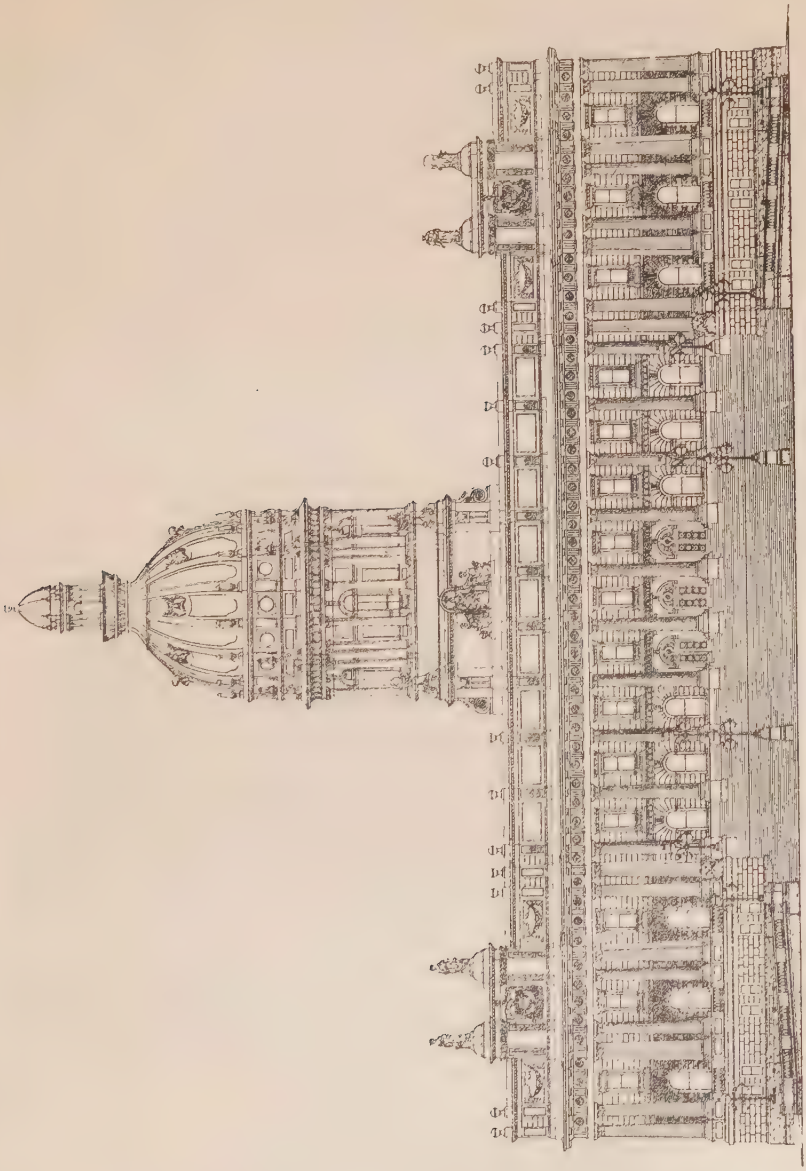
said that all the chief towns of these colonies were already building churches of considerable pretension, and municipal edifices still more ambitious—City Halls, Post Offices, Law Courts, Banks, Insurance Offices, and so on—quite on a par with those of the provincial towns in England: while the suburban Colleges and Asylums, the great warehouses for trade, and the private dwelling-houses of wealthy citizens, were not in any great degree backward. Since then, it need not be said, the effect of international communication has been as remarkable here as elsewhere throughout the world: all the Industrial Arts have advanced, and Architecture, the chief of them, the most conspicuously.



219*t*. Parliamentary Library, Ottawa.

The Houses of Parliament at Melbourne (No. 219*u*), may justly be called a very grand example of architectural design, in every way worthy of a great English colony. If the reader will at once compare it attentively with the corresponding and no less meritorious edifice at Sydney (No. 219*v*), no matter on which side his personal sympathies of taste happen to be, the contrast may serve to illustrate forcibly the

rival claims of Classic and Gothic to be regarded as the most appropriate style for public buildings of supreme importance. On the one hand we have a most dignified repose; on the other a most playful picturesque-



The Houses of Parliament, Melbourne.

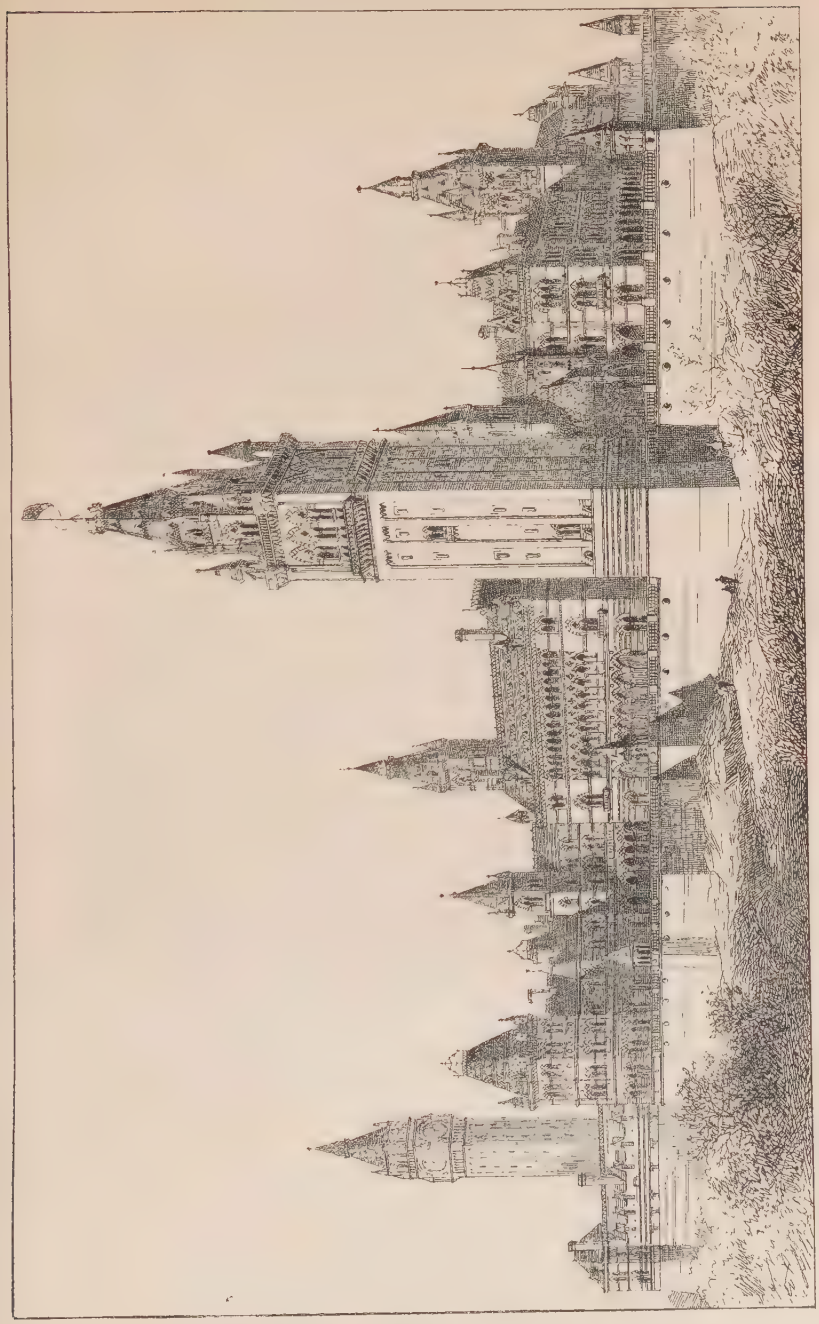
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ness. Academical stateliness at Melbourne, such as no one would venture to propose just now in England, is contrasted with the half-severe and half-sportive Secular Gothic at Sydney, which a short time



219x. Catholic Cathedral, Melbourne.

ago was held by most of us to be the only proper dress for English building, especially when it appealed by any means to social traditions. Of course there are no traditions at Sydney which connect native history with either the German or the Venetian art which is here imitated. Nor is there any such connection at Melbourne with the Louvre or



Houses of Parliament, Sydney.

219y.

Versailles. But in both cases alike, and quite indiscriminately, the traditions of Old England may claim authority; and the question for the reader to reflect upon is the apparently easy, but really most difficult point—what is the English style? At the present moment, some of our architects would scarcely hesitate to affirm that both of these colonial palaces might have been excellently well-developed in crude red brick, one with terra-cotta intermixed perhaps, and the other with nothing



219z. Dalton's Warehouse, Sydney.

better than neatly rubbed and carved "malm cutters;" but the mere suggestion of such a jest ought to go far to show us how weak a thing an idle fashion may be, and how readily it may become the fate of a fashionable architect to receive derision from posterity instead of applause. But we may safely say that in neither of the designs before us do we see the true traditions of England so rudely violated. Let us look, then, at the contrast of style from another point of view. It is well

known that the usual failing of the grandiose Classic consists in the too prejudicial compromise of matters of internal anatomy which is demanded by the exigencies of external symmetry; while the usual merit of the piquant Gothic lies in the independence of such inconvenient control which belongs to the spirit of irregularity. We may admit, for the sake of sufficient majesty without, that a reasonable amount of difficult adjustment within shall be fairly encountered, and a not unreasonable amount of incidental compromise accepted when the resources of ingenuity have been fully exhausted. We may also admit—now that Secular Gothic has been superseded by Flanders Rococo—that there can be no doubt of the facility with which the Gothic principle can be applied to meet all the anatomy of building, provided only that the mere traditional features of authenticity shall be judiciously sacrificed to the claims of more modern feeling. Whether, as Fergusson suggests, there is a *via media* to be discovered which shall provide us with all or nearly all the stately repose of the Melbourne design, and all or nearly all the liberty and piquancy of the Sydney design, is of course a question for the future, and probably not for the more immediate future.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Patrick at Melbourne (No. 219*x*), is presented, not for the criticism of a certain school of ecclesiastical purists, but to show what our colonists can do in creditable and costly church building. It seems doubtful, indeed, whether we at home can always do so much and so well.

The Parliament Houses and Government Offices at Sydney (No. 219*y*), have been considered a couple of pages back in contrast with the Houses of Parliament at Melbourne (No. 219*w*); and all that it seems necessary to add is that the design is most creditable to the colony, even if some of the local critics should be found to suggest that it is scarcely so much in accord as a whole with the bright sky that holds the Southern Cross as with the more gloomy atmosphere where Ursa Major reigns.

The Dalton Building at Sydney (No. 219*z*) is offered as an illustration of the handling of an ordinary Italianesque motive with what must be called original feeling and undeniable success. The treatment speaks for itself.—ED.]

BOOK V.

GERMANY.

INTRODUCTION.

In describing the modern Architecture of Germany, it will be convenient to insist more strongly than has been necessary in the preceding pages on the distinction which exists between the *Renaissance* and the *Revival* styles of Art, which was pointed out in the last chapter.

By the former is meant that style which was practised in Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and may be described as an attempt to apply the details and principles of Classic Art to modern forms, and to adapt them to modern usages and requirements. The *Revival* —which is wholly the creation of the nineteenth century—pretends to reproduce the actual buildings of the earlier styles, with such correctness of detail as to cheat the most practised connoisseur into a belief that he is looking on an actual production of the age to which it professes to belong, provided he can bring himself to believe he "didna see the biggin' o't."

Bearing this distinction in mind, the Renaissance Architecture of Germany may be dismissed in a very few lines, inasmuch as, during these three centuries, not a single architect was produced of whom even his compatriots are proud, or whose name is remembered in other countries; and not a single building erected the architecture of which is worthy of much study, nor one that calls forth the admiration of even the most patriotic Germans themselves.

The excuse for this state of things, so far as concerns Church Architecture, is, that the struggles of the Reformation, and the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, threw Germany back for a century at least, and left her with a divided establishment and a superfluity of churches—inherited from the ages of united faith and ecclesiastical supremacy; while, on the other hand, the number of small kingdoms and principalities into which the country was divided, each with its own small capital, prevented them from indulging in that magnifi-

cence in Secular Art which the unity of the greater monarchies enabled them to display.

The real cause probably lies deeper, and will be found in the fact that, however great or good the Germans may be in other respects, they have no real feeling for the refinements of Art, and no taste for architectural display. In fact, since the great age of the Hohenstaufen, Germany has done nothing great or original in this direction. As was pointed out in a previous chapter,[1] she borrowed her Pointed Gothic style from the French, and very soon marred it entirely by fancying that mechanical dexterity and exaggerated *tours de force* were the highest aim and objects of an art whose best qualities are expressed by solidity and repose. In their painting, too, technical skill and patient elaboration of detail were qualities more esteemed than the expression of emotion or the presentation of a poetical idea. There was a good deal to admire and much to wonder at in the Art of the Germans of the age immediately preceding the Reformation, but little that either appealed to the feelings, or awakened any of the deeper or more lasting emotions of the human heart.

When, after the troubles of the sixteenth century, the Germans settled down to the more quiet and prosperous years of the seventeenth and eighteenth, the Teutonic mind seems almost to have forgotten that such a thing as a fine art existed—at least, as a living form of utterance that could be practised in those days.

It is true that the wealth of the Saxon kings induced them to spend enormous sums on works of art, but their patronage took the form of purchasing the pictures of foreign artists, and manufacturing expensive toys at home, while they lived in a palace so mean in appearance, that it requires strong faith in the veracity of your "valet de place" to believe that such is really a royal residence. It is true also that Frederick of Prussia displayed his greatness in building French palaces as he wrote French verses; but it is difficult to say which is the least worthy of the admiration of posterity. The truest type of Teutonic Art is perhaps the Burg at Vienna—the Imperial residence of the Emperors of Germany—on which each succeeding member of the House of Hapsburg has left his mark, but without one of them showing the least appreciation of the value of architectural display, or the smallest desire to depart from the most homely form of utilitarian convenience.

Notwithstanding this Teutonic apathy to Art, there are a few buildings which cannot be passed over, being interesting, if not for their beauty, at least for their originality, and the constructive lessons they convey.

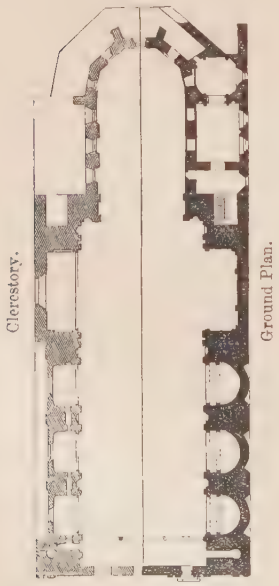
[1] 'History of Architecture,' vol. i., p. 560.

CHAPTER I.

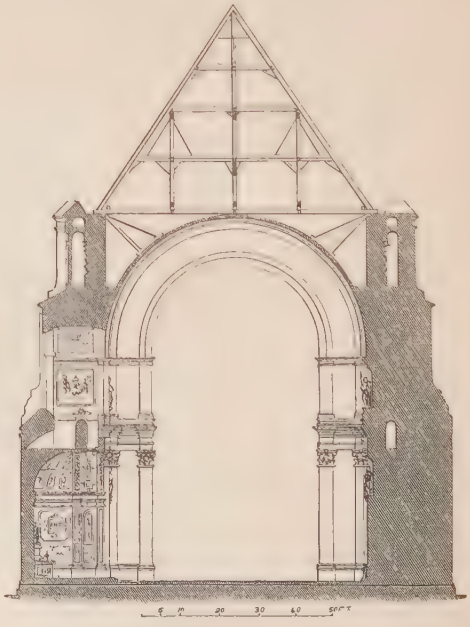
RENAISSANCE.

. Ecclesiastical.

One of the earliest and most remarkable churches of this epoch is that of St. Michael at Munich, built from the designs of an architect called Müller, between the years 1583 and 1597. The nave is one grand spacious hall, 180 feet long by 67 in width, covered by a simple waggon-vault of brickwork without any pillars or apparent abutment inside; the choir is narrower, but in most pleasing proportion to the nave; and the lighting, which is kept high, is just sufficient without being obtrusive. It would perhaps have been better if the transept had been omitted or differently managed; but the real defect of the church consists in the execrable details with which this noble design



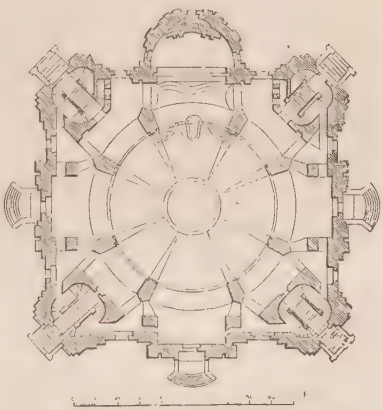
220. Plan of St. Michael's Church, Munich. From a Drawing by F. Penrose, Esq. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.



221. Section of St. Michael's Church, Munich. From a Drawing by F. Penrose, Esq. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

is carried out. These are so offensively bad that few trouble themselves to realise the grandeur of the design which they disfigure, and externally they are so much worse that few travellers care to enter a church which promises so little that could be worthy of admiration; but if these can be forgotten or overlooked, its dimensions are such as few, if any, churches can equal, either as regards spaciousness or harmony of proportions; nor has any church of its age a vault of such daring boldness of construction.

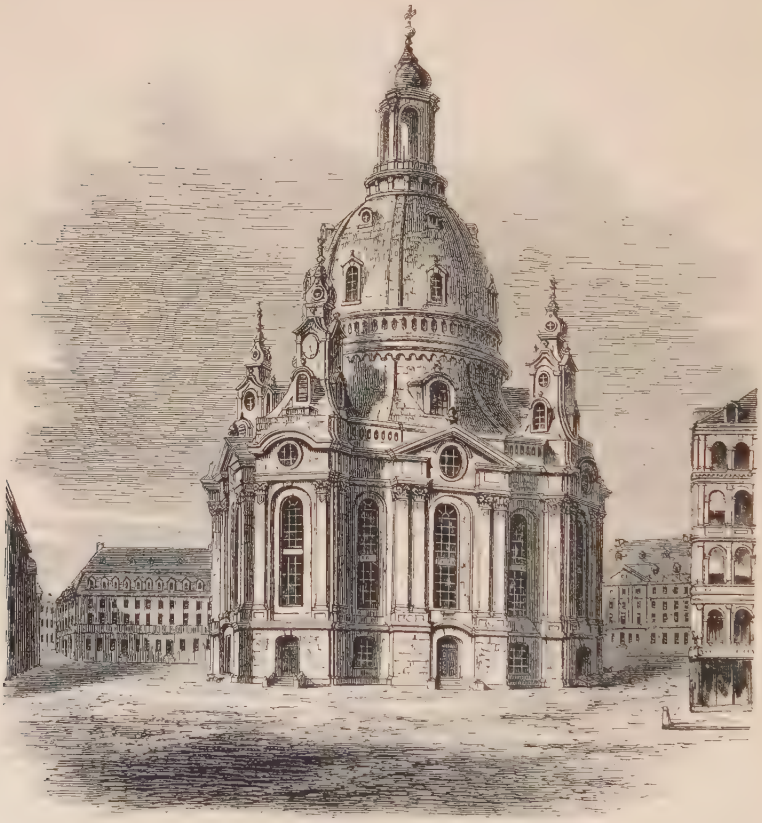
The real interest of this design consists in its illustrating, as clearly as any that can be quoted, what the early Renaissance architects were really aiming at in the changes they were introducing. They felt—whether rightly or wrongly may be questioned—that the pillars with which the Gothic architects crowded their naves not only occupied a great deal of useful space, but interrupted the view of the ceremonial at the altar, and interfered with the grandeur of the processions. The great vault of the Roman Thermæ showed them how much larger spaces could be roofed without supports; and, captivated with their discovery, they sought instantly to adopt it, but in doing so rushed to the other extreme. It was accidental that at the same time the rage for Classical details should also have sprung up, but that was not the primary feeling which captivated the early architects. The real motive was the vastness of Roman designs; and, whether at St. Peter's, at Mantua, or, in this instance, they sought to emulate the greatness more than the forms of the Classical structures. It was really not till the time of Palladio and his school that they sought also to reproduce the plans and details—at least as the principal object of a design. Had they adhered to the former system, we might perhaps have hardly regretted the change. It was the second inspiration that really ruined the art, and produced all the incongruities which we afterwards lament.



222. Plan of the Liebfrauen-Kirche, Dresden.

More original than this, and perhaps the most satisfactory church in Germany of this age, is the Liebfrauen-Kirche at Dresden. It is a square church, 140 ft. each way, exclusive of the apse, covered by a dome 75 ft. in diameter, resting on eight piers; but its great peculiarity being the perfect truthfulness with which it is constructed throughout. Internally and externally it is wholly of stone; not only the dome, but the whole of the roof is shown, and all is

constructively true—a merit possessed by no other mediæval or modern church. The shape, too, of the dome is sufficiently graceful externally; and, with its four subordinate turrets, forms the most pleasing object in every view of the city. Internally, it is too high in proportion to its other dimensions, and, having no nave or transepts, it is rather well-like in appearance, while the effect has been further marred by the theatrical manner in which it has been fitted



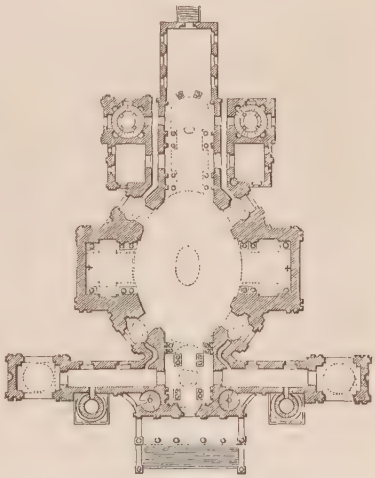
223. View of the Liebfrauen-Kirche, Dresden. From a Photograph.

up. There is a regular pit, two tiers of boxes, and a gallery—all of the flimsiest construction, and in the worst possible taste. Externally, too, there is a coarseness and vulgarity in its details which detracts very considerably from the effect; but, notwithstanding these defects, it is the most pleasing and suggestive of German churches, and, with slight modifications, it might be made very beautiful; but it would be expecting too much to look for any great beauty of design in the age in which it was erected (1726–1745), or from an

unknown individual like Behr, who has the credit of being its architect.

Like the Jesuits' church at Munich, it was an effort to do something that neither the Roman nor Gothic architects had achieved, and was only unsuccessful from its being a first attempt. Those who are aware how many hundreds—it may be said thousands—of repetitions were necessary before a really satisfactory Gothic church was built, should not feel surprised that this first essay to realise a novel form should not be quite successful; but if a second, or third, or fourth had been demanded, the last, or at least the twentieth, might have been all that could be desired. But it never was repeated. The next church was by a different architect, in a different style. The principle died with its author, as is the case with most modern designs; and all, consequently, fail in producing the effect that might easily have been attained by a more persistent system.

The only Renaissance church of any architectural pretensions that Vienna can boast of is that of San Carlo Borromeo, built by Charles VI., in 1716, from designs by Johann Fischer,[1] the most celebrated architect of his day. The nave is covered by a dome, elliptical in plan (75 by 110 ft. ?), and, consequently, of most disagreeable and ever-varying outline externally, with two short transepts and a very long narrow choir. The façade is disproportionately wide, terminating in two towers, and with a portico of Corinthian pillars, on each side of which are two tall Doric columns, covered with bas-reliefs winding spirally round them, like those of Trajan's Column at Rome. These represent scenes in the life of Carlo Borromeo, with all the incongruity of modern costume adapted to Classical design. Altogether, it is a strange conglomeration of parts, and, being principally in badly moulded stucco, the effect is neither tasteful nor imposing.



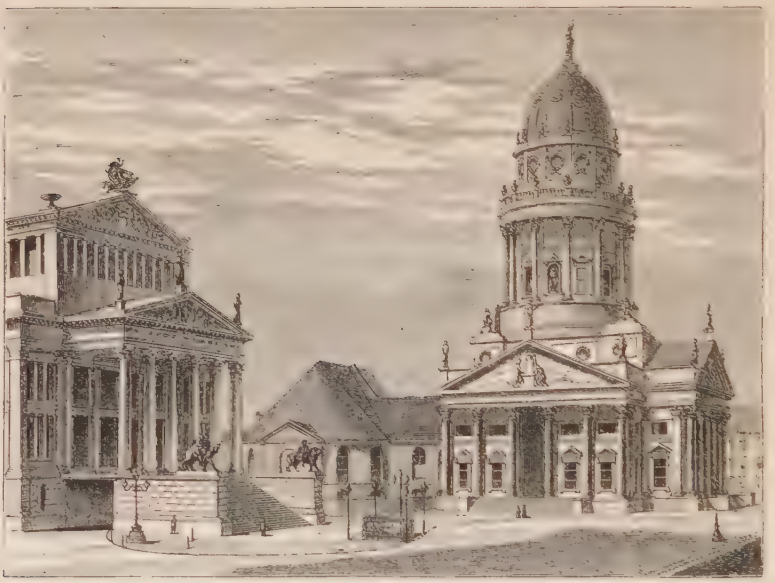
224. Plan of the Church of San Carlo Borromeo. Scale doubtful.

Even this church is better, however, than the Hof-Kirche at Dresden, commenced in the year 1737, from designs by Claveri, and which, notwithstanding its dimensions and its situation—which is unrivalled—is as unsatisfactory a church as can well be imagined.

[1] Born 1650; died 1724.

Bad as this is even, it is better than the starved, poverty-stricken, stucco erection, dignified by the name of cathedral, at Berlin, which was built in the year 1750, by an architect of the name of Bowman.

In the last-named city there are two great churches, in the Gens-d'armes Platz, of the most commonplace architecture: so mean, that Frederick the Great determined to beautify them: but instead of rebuilding or redecorating them, he left the churches in their original ugliness, and added a great mass of masonry in front of each. This consists of a square block, with a handsome Corinthian portico—in stucco of course—on three of its faces, with two storeys of windows under the porticoes; over this is an attic, and in the centre of each a



221. Church and Theatre in the Gens-d'armes Platz, Berlin. From a Photograph.

tall dome, surrounded by a peristyle of columns. The outline of these domes is as graceful as any that have been erected of their class; and owing to there being no constructive difficulties, they grow pleasingly out of the masses below; so that altogether, though they are not real domes, they are deserving of considerable praise; but being mere shams, however, and executed in plaster, they lose much of the dignity to which they might otherwise attain. The design, too, of the blocks on which they stand is by no means ungraceful, and if their area had been added to the churches, might have been excused; but, whatever their original destination, they are now mean and dilapidated residences, and mere screens in so far at least as the churches are concerned.

A better class of churches are such as the Dom at Salzburg, built by Solario, in 1614, the cathedral at Munich, the church at Mölk, and many more. These and others are built on the Italian plan—small copies of St. Peter's—with a dome in the centre, on the intersection of the nave and transept, and generally two western towers. They are neither so elegant in design as their Italian prototypes, nor, from their being generally in stucco, have they the same redeeming quality of richness of material. But they are Catholic churches of a well-understood type and ordinance, and, if they do not call forth much admiration, they do not offend by incongruity, or vain attempts to show off the ingenuity of the architect who designed them. None of them, however, present any distinguishing features not to be found on the other side of the Alps, and they hardly, therefore, deserve a place in a chapter devoted to German Architecture.

Secular.

The Germans were not more successful in their attempts at Secular Architecture during the period of the Renaissance than in their Ecclesiastical buildings. The architect wanders in vain through the capitals of Germany in hopes of finding something either so original or so grand that it should dwell upon the memory, even if it does not satisfy the rules of taste.

The best known and the most picturesque example is certainly the Castle at Heidelberg, though it perhaps owes more to its situation, to its associations, and to its present state of ruin for its interest, than to its merits as an architectural production. The first architectural part was engrafted, in 1556, on the older feudal buildings, and is a pleasing specimen of the style we should call Elizabethan in England; but the most admired is the Fredericks Bau, built in 1607. It is a rich but overloaded specimen of the style which prevailed in France in the reign of Henri IV. Situated in a courtyard as this is, we can forgive a considerable amount of over-ornamentation; but, even then, the effect produced is by no means equal to the amount of labour bestowed upon it; and with every allowance for divergence of taste, there is an amount and style of carving here which might be appropriate in cabinet-work, but certainly is inappropriate and offensive in anything more monumental.

At Cologne there is a pleasing porch added to the old Rathhaus, in 1571, and, though so late in date, the arches are slightly pointed, notwithstanding their being placed between Classical pillars, and the roof is groined after a tolerably pure Gothic type. Though small, there is more thought bestowed on its design than may be found in many buildings of very much larger dimensions; and this, combined with a considerable degree of elegance, has resulted in

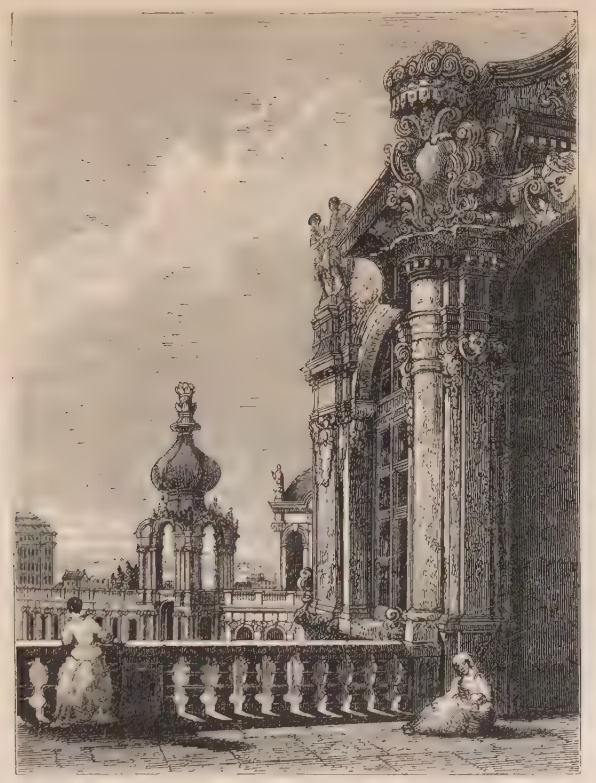


226. Porch of Rathhaus, Cologne. From a Photograph.

producing the most pleasing piece of Architecture that Germany can boast of during these three centuries. It is true the Order here employed is a mere ornament, but it does not pretend to be anything else. The real constructive work is seen to be done by the arches behind it; and great pains are taken to make it appear that the pillars and their accompaniments are added not only to give richness to the design, but also to call back the memories of Classical Art most appropriate in the Capital of the great Colonia of the Romans.

The most original, and perhaps also the most picturesque, building in Germany of this age, is the Zwinger Palace at Dresden, commenced, in 1711, by Augustus II. Unfortunately it is only a fragment—the forecourt to a palace which would have been of wonderful splendour had it ever been completed, though the taste in which it was designed may have been more provocative of laughter than of feelings of respect. In a courtyard certain vagaries are admissible; but in no age, and in no place in Europe,[1] has so grotesque a style been

[1] The thing most like it is perhaps the Kaiser Bagh at Lucknow.



227. Part of the Zwinger Palace, Dresden. From a Drawing by Prout.

carried into execution as here. It is an exaggeration of the Rococo style of Louis XV., such as in France was only applied to internal decoration, and employed in this palace more extravagantly than ever dreamt of by any French architect. It could only have been applied to external architecture by the kings who wasted their treasures on the toys of the Grüne Gewölbe.

In singular contrast to this, the same Elector built the Japanese Palace as a country residence—in the German sense of the term—within a gunshot of the Zwinger. It is a square block of buildings, divided on each face into five compartments, each three windows in width. The basement is rusticated; the two upper storeys adorned with, and included in, one range of pilasters. The roof is pleasingly broken into masses, and being covered with copper, which is now of a bright green colour, the effect of the whole is peculiar but pleasing—perhaps as much so as any palace in Germany; though this arises not from any remarkable beauty or originality it may possess, but simply because it is a design, and because there are no

offensive extravagances about it, or any attempt to make it appear other than it is.

The Schloss at Berlin ought to be an interesting building, inasmuch as it contains specimens of the work of each succeeding elector or king since Prussia first emerged from obscurity to the present day; and its dimensions are such that it must have a certain dignity in spite of any faults of design. It measures 565 ft. east and west, by 385 ft. north and south; the exterior being nearly uniform in style—having been principally erected between the years 1699 and 1720—and is four bold storeys in height. Internally the mass is divided into two courts by a block of the earlier palace, which apparently it was intended to remove, though, were it rebuilt, its being retained would give more effect to the interior.



228. Japanese Palace, Dresden. From a Photograph.

It may also be added that there is no very striking instance of bad taste in the whole design; still, with all this, it is far from being satisfactory. The material is brick and stucco—the latter not always kept in repair. The window-dressings are coarse and vulgar. Pillars, where used, are merely ornaments stuck on high basements, and altogether, but for its mass, few would pause to inquire its destination. There is not in any part, or in any of its details, evidence of that elegance or refinement which is the first and most indispensable requisite in the architecture of a king's palace; a look of coarseness, almost of vulgarity, prevades the whole, and this is heightened by the appearance of neglect and dirt which is everywhere observable.

The palace at Schönbrunn, near Vienna, is supposed by the inhabitants of that city to make up for the defects of the Burg in architectural display. It was erected, in 1696, from the designs of the same Fischer who built the San Carlo Borromeo (Woodcut No. 224), and meant to be a copy of Versailles on a small scale. It is in plaster, of course; and having recently been adorned with a new coat of white and yellow washes, and the Venetian blinds painted of the brightest green, its effect is as gay as the Government House of a

West Indian Colony, but by no means admirable as a specimen of Architectural Art.

The New Palace built by Frederick the Great at Potsdam is superior to Schönbrunn as an architectural object, though something in the same style, and more to be admired for its dimensions than the art displayed in its design or adornment.

Germany is singularly deficient, as might be expected, during the Renaissance period, in monumental trophies, such as triumphal arches, columns, &c.; the only really important example being in Brandenburg Thor, at the end of the Linden, at Berlin. This very narrowly escaped being a really fine building, and, considering its age (it was



229. Brandenburg Gate, Berlin. From a Photograph.

erected between 1784 and 1792), it is one of the very best reproductions of Greek Art that had then been erected. It consists of two ranges of six Doric columns, joined in the direction of their depth by a screen of wall, which was necessary for the attachment of the leaves of the gates which fold back against them; and above the colonnade is a quadriga, bearing a figure of Victory.

It was not, perhaps, a very legitimate use of an Order to employ it where gates were necessary, which the columns only serve to mask, and the details of the Order are not such as to satisfy the critical eyes of the present day; but there is a largeness and a grandeur about the whole design which in a great measure redeem these faults, and,

taking it all in all, except the Arc de l'Etoile at Paris, it would be difficult to find any modern triumphal gateway in Europe which could bear a fair comparison with this.

At Berlin there are several buildings, such as the Arsenal, the Public Library, the University, &c., on which tourists have been content to lavish their commendations for want of something to vary the monotony of blame that runs through all that can be said of the German Architecture of this age. But none of these are beyond the level of the merest mediocrity, and there does not appear to be a single municipal or administrative building either at Vienna, Dresden, Munich, or any of the minor capitals, which is worthy of commemoration as an architectural object.

During the three centuries of the Renaissance period, the German nobles built no city palaces to be compared in any way with those which adorn every town in Italy, nor one single country residence that can match in grandeur the country seats that are found in every county in England. From the great high-roads a barrack-like residence is occasionally discovered at the end of an avenue of stunted trees: but it would be as great a mockery to call it an object of Architecture, as to dignify its entourage by calling it a park.

Nothing, in fact, can well be more unsatisfactory and less interesting than the history of German Architecture during the Renaissance period. It was not that they were afflicted by a hankering after Classicality, or any other form of Art: or were seized with that mania for porticoes by which so many of our public and private buildings have been disfigured. It was simply indifference. After the last echoes of the Middle Ages had ceased to vibrate, men forgot the fine arts, and were content with any form of building which suited best the utilitarian purposes to which it was to be applied—and there the matter rested. They have now awakened from this trance, and are energetically bent on achieving success in architectural design. The inquiry how far the result has answered to the endeavour forms the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER II.

REVIVAL.

Although it is scarcely probable that Germany could long have remained uninfluenced by the demand for a higher class of Art which spread throughout Europe after the termination of the great war which arose out of the catastrophe of the French Revolution, still great credit is due to King Louis of Bavaria as being the first to give practical effect to the call, and it was his example that stimulated the other States to exertion in the good cause.

When a young man, residing at Rome, as Crown Prince of Bavaria, Louis seems to have been struck with admiration for the great works he saw there, and from their contemplation to have imbibed a love of Art, which led him to resolve that when he came to the throne he would devote his energies to the restoration of German Art, and make his capital the central point of the great movement he was contemplating. Earnestly and perseveringly he worked towards this end during the whole of his reign: and if the result has not been so satisfactory as might be wished, it has not been owing either to want of means or of encouragement on the part of the king, but to the system on which he proceeded, either from inclination, or from the character of the agents he was forced to employ in carrying out his designs.

The ruling idea of the Munich school of Architecture seems to have been to reproduce as nearly as possible in facsimile every building that was great or admirable in any clime, or at any previous period of history, wholly irrespective either of its use or of the locality it was destined to occupy in the new capital. Whatever the king had admired abroad his architects were ordered to reproduce at home. The consequence is that Munich is little more than an ill-arranged museum of dried specimens of foreign styles, frequently on a smaller scale, and generally in plaster, but reproducing with more or less fidelity buildings of all ages and styles, though in nine cases out of ten designed for other purposes, and carried out in different materials.

Had the king on the other hand, insisted that his architects should

copy nothing, but must produce buildings original in design, and adapted to the climate of Germany and the usages of the nineteenth century, he had it in his power to be the founder of a school of Art which would have rendered his name illustrious in all future ages. Probably such a conception was as much beyond the calibre of the royal patron's mind as it might have exceeded the talent of his artists to execute it. Unfortunately, the reproduction of the Parthenon or the Pitti Palace enabled flatterers to suggest that he had equalled Pericles or the Medici ; and it was not thought necessary to hint that the printer, who multiplies the work of a great poet, need not necessarily be as great as the author of the first conception. To the architects it was Elysium ;—they had only to measure and repeat : authority sanctioned all blunders and relieved the artist from all responsibility.

The experiment was so novel, at least in Germany, that it was at first hailed with enthusiasm ; but, after this had subsided, the taste of the nation recoiled from the total want of thought displayed in the buildings at Munich, and their common sense revolted at their want of adaptation to the circumstances in which they are placed. The result may eventually prove fortunate for the development of the art of Architecture. The king placed before his countrymen specimens of all schools and all styles ; and the contemplation of these may arouse the German mind to emulate their beauties instead of servilely copying their details. But meanwhile the mind of the student is puzzled by the variety of examples submitted for his admiration. Is it the Walhalla or the Anc-Kirche he is to admire ?—the Königsbau or the Wittelbacher Palace ? To which end of the Ludwig Strasse is he to look for his model of an arch ? It may prove to be a useful school ; but it is now only a chaos, and no master's hand exists to guide the student's mind through the tortuous mazes of the unintellectual labyrinth in which he finds himself involved. It is difficult to imagine in what direction the tide may ultimately turn. If the German mind is capable of originality in Art, it ought to be for good. They have copied everything, and exhausted themselves with imitations *ad nauseam*. It remains to be seen whether they can now create anything worthy of admiration.

Ecclesiastical.—Munich.

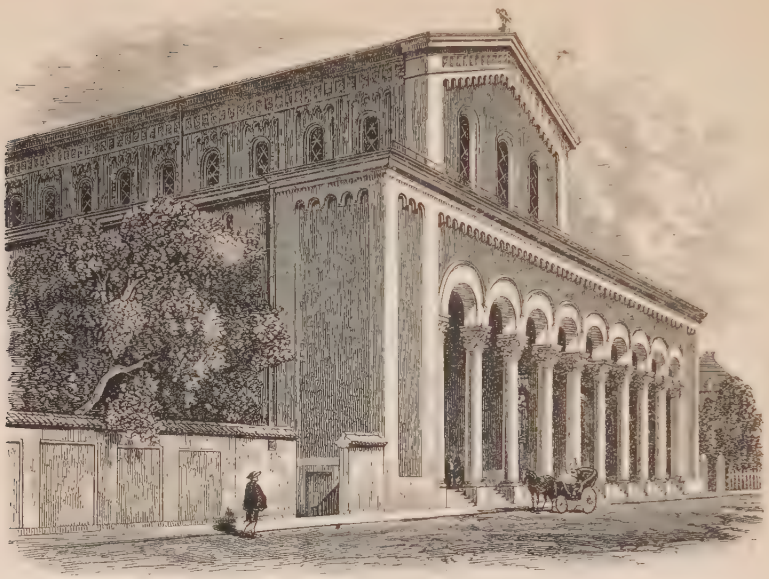
One of the earlier churches undertaken by the late king was that of St. Ludwig, in the street of the same name. It was designed by Gärtner, in the so-called Byzantine style. Externally the building is flat, and has little to recommend it, except some very tastefully executed ornaments in stucco. The two towers that flank it are placed so far apart as scarcely to group with the rest of the design,

and are in themselves as lean and as ungraceful conceptions as any that have been perpetrated during this century. Internally, the frescoes which cover its walls redeem its architectural defects, and are in fact the only excuse for the employment of a style so little tractable as this is. If a law were in existence, either artistic or statutory, that frescoes shall only be used in conjunction with this style, no one of course would object to its employment. But it is difficult to discover any reason why a building in any other style should not be so designed as to admit of painted decorations being introduced, so as to cover every foot of space from the floor to the roof ridge; and if it is so, the idea that Byzantine churches only should be so decorated can only be considered as one of those self-imposed trammels so characteristic of the modern school of Art. In fact, the art of forging fetters to be worn for display seems the great discovery of the Revival; and, though a knowledge of the means by which this is done is necessary to understand the arts of other countries also, its trammels are nowhere so prominent and so universally adopted as in Munich.

The Aue-Kirche, which was proceeding simultaneously with the Ludwig-Kirche, is another prominent example of the same system. It is in the late attenuated German Gothic style, without aisles or break of any sort externally; and, as an architectural design, very little to be admired; but its painted windows, like St. Ludwig's frescoes, are supposed to redeem its other defects. It need hardly be added that, if the one is right the other must be wrong; two diametrically opposed modes of decorating and building, to be used in the same age for the same purposes, can hardly both be equally good; and in these two instances, at all events, neither can be considered successful from an architectural point of view.

Far more successful than either of these is the Basilica, erected under the superintendence of Ziebland; which, as a whole, is perhaps one of the most successful of modern imitative churches. Its dimensions are considerable, being 285 ft. in length, with a width of 114 ft.; with the apse, narthex, &c., covering nearly 40,000 ft. Externally, the simplicity of the style has prevented any offence against taste being committed, and the portico is a simple arcaded porch, in good proportion with the rest, and suggestive of the interior. Internally the arrangement is that, on a smaller scale, of the Basilicas of the old St. Paul's, or St. Peter's at Rome;—a nave 50 ft. wide, and two side aisles, divided from each other by sixty-four monolithic columns of grey marble, with white marble capitals, each of a different design, but all elegant, and all appropriately modelled to bear the impost of an arch. The timbering of the open roof is perhaps too light, and has a somewhat flimsy appearance.

Except the pillars and their capitals, there is scarcely an architectural moulding or ornament throughout the interior. Every part



230. Exterior View of the Basilica at Munich. From a Photograph.

is painted, and depends on painting for its effect; and though the result is satisfactory and beautiful, it might easily have been better. The old basilica buildings had an excuse for omitting architectural details. They borrowed their pillars from older edifices, and had not art sufficient to do anything beyond building a plain rubble or brick wall over those pillars, and then trying to hide its poverty by gilding and paint. Though the canons of the Munich school of Art would not allow anything but servile copying, even of defects, there can be no doubt but that an architectural archivolt from capital to capital, bolder string-courses, and mouldings round the windows, would not only have improved the interior immensely, but would have aided the effect of the painted decorations, and given value to the frescoes, which, from want of framing, lose to a considerable extent the effect they might otherwise have produced. As these things, however, did not exist in the original, it is not fair to blame the architect for not introducing them in the copy. The task proposed to him was to reproduce a basilica of the fifth century, and the standard by which it must be judged is how far, in the nineteenth century, he has reproduced the arts of that period of decay and degradation. He could easily have improved on his model, but that was forbidden. Such being the case, it would be easy to point out other defects than those above noted; but on the whole there is probably no modern church more satisfactory, or which, from the simplicity of its arrangement

and the completeness and elegance of its details, produces so solemn and so pleasing an effect.

As above pointed out,[1] the architects who were entrusted with the rebuilding of St. Paul's outside the walls at Rome, did not consider themselves so bound by precedent as Ziebland and his abettors, though it would have been more excusable in their case than in his. They hid the timbering of their roof by a decorative ceiling, and introduced a better spacing and more ornate arrangement of their clerestory than had existed in the old building; but with all this they could not cure the defects inherent in this style of building churches. This class of Basilicas is necessarily poor and mean-looking externally, from the want of towers or domes, to break the sky-line and give variety to the plan; while, internally, they are monotonous and deficient in the perspective and light and shade which are the charm of almost all Gothic buildings, and which are also frequently found in the domical churches of the Renaissance period.

Walhalla.

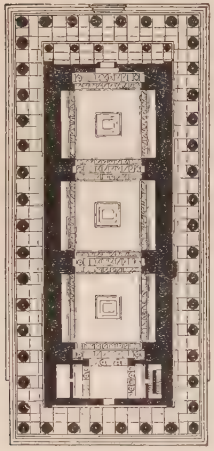
Is the Walhalla a church? If not, it would be difficult to say what it is. At all events, there seems to be no other class under which it can well be ranged. Externally, it has no merit but that of being an exact and literal copy of the Parthenon; but situated on a lone hill on the banks of the Danube, surrounded by the tall roofs of German villages, and village spires, without one single object to suggest how it came there, it is the most singular piece of incongruity that Architecture ever perpetrated. Minerva, descending in Cheapside to separate two quarrelling cabmen, could hardly be more out of place. Internally, too, the strange mixture of German sagas with Grecian myths, and the clothing of German traditions and German savages with the exquisite poetry and grace of Grecian Art, produces an effect so utterly false as to be painful.

The architect, no doubt, saved himself an enormous amount of trouble and of thought when he determined on reproducing literally a copy of the Parthenon; and he also escaped an immense amount of responsibility by adopting so celebrated a design in all its integrity. It would have taken him years of patient study to produce anything original at all approaching it in merit; and we know that neither Klenze nor any modern architect could possibly design anything so perfect. Notwithstanding all this, there is nothing in all the principles of the art so certain as that any carefully elaborated design would have been better than this, if appropriate to the situation and the climate, and if it expressed truthfully and clearly the objects for

[1] *Vide* ante, p. 90 (Woodcut No. 45).

which the building was erected, as well as the feelings of the age in which it was executed.[1] Though Klenze only did what most of his brother architects are doing, it was treason against the noble art he professes; and his opportunities have been such that he is more to blame than most of his brethren for the present state of the art in this respect.

Fortunately the architectural arrangement of the interior has some novelty, combined with considerable appreciation of the elements of Grecian Art; and, putting aside all question as to its appropriateness and all reference to the meaning of its decorations, it reproduces not unworthily the effect of such a hall as might have existed in Greece in the days of her prime. Had Klenze been content to reproduce the interior of the Parthenon with the same servility as he did the exterior, he would have lost a great opportunity of showing how easily the details of Greek Architecture lend themselves to modern purposes, when applied with a sufficient amount of care and thought. The hall, which is 50 ft. wide by 150 in length, is divided into three nearly square compartments by projecting piers. The light is pleasingly introduced in sufficient quantities through the roof, the sculpture well disposed, and altogether it may be considered as one of the most elegant as well as one of the richest halls which have been produced in this century. Its great and only worthy rival is St. George's Hall, Liverpool,—the two forming curious illustrations of the adaptability of Grecian or Roman Architecture to our modern purposes.



231. Plan of Walhalla. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

The Ruhmes-halle is a better attempt at applying the detail of pure Greek Architecture to modern monumental purposes. Here the statue is meant to be everything; and the architecture not only allows it to be so, but aids the effect by tying, as it were, the statue to the hill-side, and suggesting a reason for its being there, while the building is kept so low and subordinate as rather to aid the colossal effect of the statue than to interfere with it. So far, therefore, as the Grecian principle of design was thought indispensable for the sculpture, the application of the Grecian Doric Order was not only legitimate but appropriate, and has been effected with more skill and

[1] We willingly pay 5,000*l.* for an original work by Holman Hunt, while we can buy an excellent copy of the Spozalizia of Raphael for 50*l.*; yet the picture is quite as appropriate to London as to Milan.

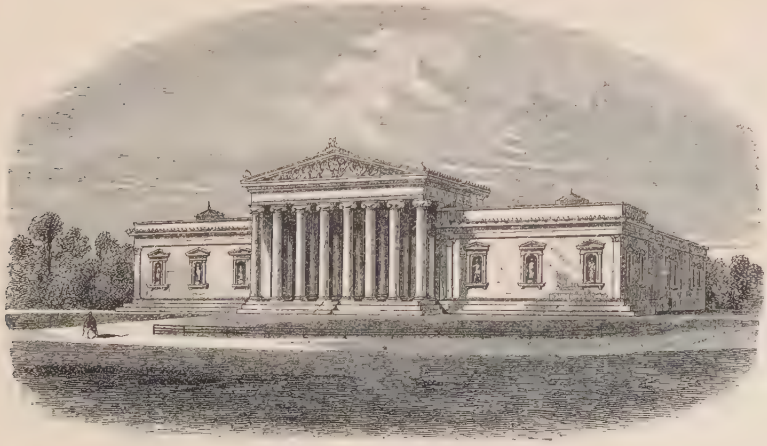


232. Ruhmes-halle, near Munich. From a Photograph.

originality in this instance than is to be found in any other adaptation of it in Munich.

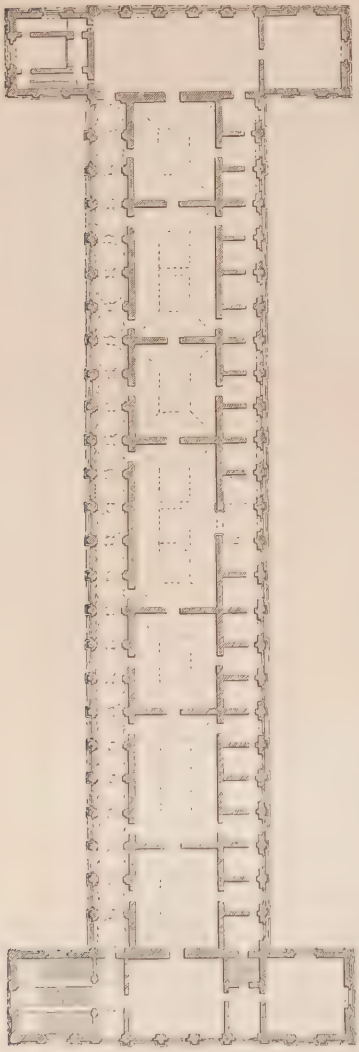
Secular.—Munich.

The Glyptothek is one of the earliest as it is one of the best of Klenze's Munich designs. As in the Ruhmes-halle, there is a certain amount of appropriateness in a Classical, windowless building being erected to contain ancient sculptures, or modern examples executed on the same principles; and both externally and internally this gallery is singularly well arranged for the purpose to which it was to be



233. Glyptothek, Munich. From a Photograph.

applied. Having been erected before any buildings existed in its neighbourhood, the architect does not seem to have foreseen that it would appear low when brought into competition with taller edifices; and this defect is further increased by the size of the portico; which, though elegant and well-designed in itself, is too large for the structure to which it is attached. The Exhibition building, which forms the pendant to the Glyptothek, on the opposite side of the square, avoids these defects by being placed on a lofty stylobate, and its portico approached by a handsome flight of steps. It thus gains considerably in dignity, though it is at the expense of its older and less pretentious neighbour.



234. Plan of Pinacothek, Munich.
Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Internally, the Glyptothek is better arranged and better lighted than any other sculpture-gallery in Europe;[1] and although the ornaments on the roof may be open to the reproach of heaviness, they were the fruit of the first attempt to employ Grecian details in this manner, and they are always elegant and appropriate; and with a better treatment as to colour and gilding, these defects might be made much less prominent.

The Pinacothek, which was erected about the same time by the same architect, is in some respects superior to the Glyptothek. Both externally and internally the design is that of a picture-gallery, and so clearly expressed that it is impossible to mistake it for anything else. The materials, too—brick with stone dressings—are left to tell their own tale, and add to the air of

[1] The mode in which the Eginetan marbles are lighted and seen here, goes far to obviate even an Englishman's regret that they did not fall to the lot of a nation which cannot erect a more suitable building for this purpose than the British Museum.

truthfulness which pervades the whole building. The worst feature of the design is the glazed arcade extending the whole length of the front on the principal storey. It is quite true that there are similar arcades in the Vatican, which it has been found necessary subsequently to glaze in order to protect their frescoes from the atmospheric influences; but it is a singular instance of the Chinese habit of mind of Munich architects, that they should build a glazed arcade in imitation of those at Rome, which have been so perverted from their original purpose. One fourth or one sixth of the window-space would have been more than sufficient for this corridor; and, architecturally, the back of the building is far more satisfactory than the front, though there are two storeys of commonplace windows under the Order that represents this pretentious arcade in the front. They, however, are useful, and consequently easily excused; whereas the corridor is so



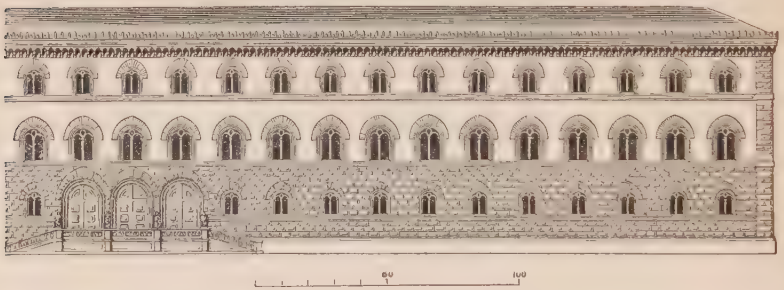
235. Half Section, half Elevation of Pinacothek, Munich. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

hot in summer, and so cold in winter, that it cannot be used as an approach to the galleries; and at all seasons so exposed to atmospheric changes that it is impossible to preserve the frescoes with which its walls are adorned. In other respects the arrangement of the gallery is the most perfect yet devised for its purposes. Nothing can be finer than the range of great galleries down the centre for large pictures, of smaller cabinets on one side, and (if properly designed) of a corridor of approach on the other. It would nevertheless have been better if the entrance had been in the centre of the principal front, and the staircase projected out behind; but the object evidently was to use the corridor, though that advantage has been lost in consequence of the way in which the design was carried out.

Behind this gallery a new one has recently been erected, which certainly is original, inasmuch as it is unlike any building that ever

was erected before, and, it is to be hoped, ever will be erected hereafter ; but it loses the advantage of even this merit by pretending to be in the Byzantine style, though adorned externally with frescoes the subjects and design of which most unmistakably belong to the present hour. But, in addition to these defects, the building is unpleasing in form, and so deficient in light and shade as to be positively disagreeable.

The Royal Palace at Munich is by no means so successful an attempt as these last-named buildings. The façade towards the Theater Platz is only a bad copy, on a reduced scale, of the Palazzo Pitti at Florence ; and as if it were not degradation enough to see its bold rustication repeated in bad stucco, the effect is further deteriorated by an increase in the relative size and frequency of the apertures, and the introduction of a very lean range of pilasters in the upper storeys, and a consequent diminution of the projections as a compromise between the rusticications and the Order. The garden front has less pretension, and is



236. Part of the Façade of the Public Library, Munich.

consequently less open to criticism ; but at best it is scarcely superior to a stuccoed terrace in the Regent's Park, and executed in the same material, the only striking difference being that the loggia in the centre is painted in fresco internally, but, as there is no colour elsewhere, it has more the effect of a spot than a part of one great design.

Till very recently the Ludwig Strasse was the pride of Munich. Gärtner's great buildings, the Library, the University, the Blind School, Klenze's War Office, and the Palace of the Prince of Lichtenstein, were thought to be the *ne plus ultra* of Architecture. It is now admitted that, notwithstanding a certain elegance of detail, there is a painful monotony in the endless repetition of similar small openings in Gärtner's buildings, and a flatness of surface not redeemed by a machicolated cornice ; for it is so small as to be absurd if intended to represent a defensive expedient, and not sufficient to afford shadow to such monotonous façades. Nor is the dull monotony of the street much relieved by the introduction of a Roman triumphal archway at one end,

far too small to close such a vista, or a shadowless repetition of the Loggia dei Lanzi at the other.

The good people of Munich themselves seem aware of the mistake that has been made in the design of the Ludwig Strasse, inasmuch as, since then, they have erected a new street, on nearly the same scale, at right angles to this, and extending from the Palace to the river. Instead, however, of the grand simplicity of its rival, the Maximilian Strasse is of the gayest type of modern Gothic, if the term Gothic can be applied to a style that is like nothing that ever existed in the Middle Ages; but it is assumed to acquire this rank from having pointed openings, wooden mullions, and contorted mouldings, with an occasional trefoil or quatrefoil of the Wittelbacher Palace pattern. Now that it is finished it may fairly be pronounced to be the flimsiest and most unsatisfactory attempt that has yet been made to reproduce the style of a bygone age. The Railway Station, on the other hand, may be considered as a successful attempt to adapt the brick architecture of mediæval Italy to modern uses. The general design is very pleasing, and the details elegant; and if it were not that the style is assumed to prohibit cornices and copings, the whole might be considered a success; but it wants eyebrows, and there is a weakness arising from want of shadow which reduces it to a very low grade in the scale of architectural effects.

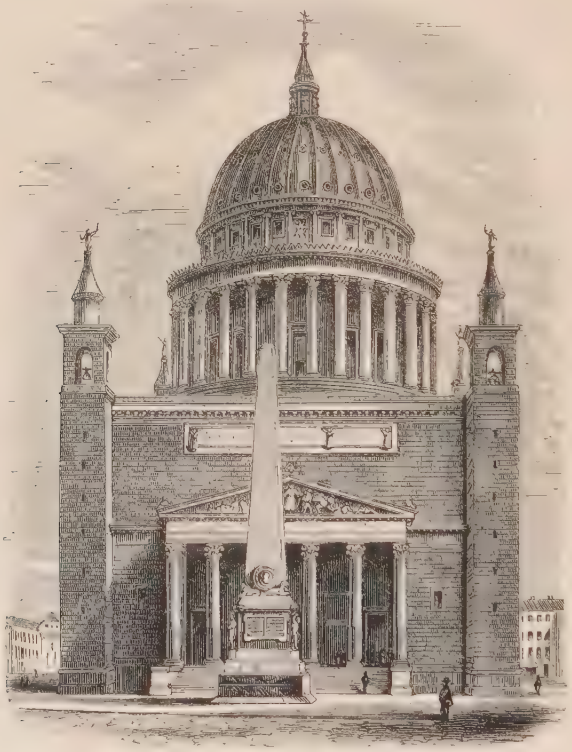
On the whole, the survey of the Revival of Architecture, as seen at Munich, from the accession of Ludwig I. to the present day, is by no means encouraging. Immense sums have been lavished with the very best and highest motives—men of undoubted talent have been employed, not only as architects, but as sculptors and painters, to assist in completing what the architect designed; but with all this, not one perfectly satisfactory building has been produced, and the general result may be considered as an acknowledged failure, inasmuch as the principles on which the school of Ludwig was based were entirely ignored by that of Maximilian, and the artists of the present day are already ashamed, and ought to be, of what was done ten or twenty years ago. It is not clear whether it is the fault of the artists or their employers, but both are hampered and weighed down by the false idea that mere memory can ever supply the place of thought in the creation or production of works of Art.

Berlin.

Although the city of Berlin has not been remodelled to anything like the same extent as Munich, and the architectural movement there has not been heralded to the world with the same amount of self-laudation which the inhabitants of the southern capital have indulged in, still the northern people seem on the whole to have been fully as

successful, if not more so, in the architects that have been employed on their great buildings. The revival also seems to be more real, and to have descended deeper, inasmuch as many of the modern houses in Berlin are models of elegance and good taste, while the private architecture of Munich is commonplace to a degree astonishing in a city of such pretensions.

The Prussians, however, are not a church-building race ; and they are very far from being successful in the few attempts they have made. One of the most prominent examples in Berlin is the Werder-Kirche



237. Nicholai-Kirche, Potsdam. From a Photograph.

near the Palace, a brick building in the so-called Gothic style, but both internally and externally as little to be admired as any structure of its class and age. It must, however, be mentioned that Schinkel, who designed it, was essentially a Classical architect, and understood or admired the Gothic style about as much as our Sir Christopher Wren. His own original design for this church was Classic, and a far more beautiful and appropriate composition than the one which the then nascent sentimentalism of the Romantic school forced upon him. This

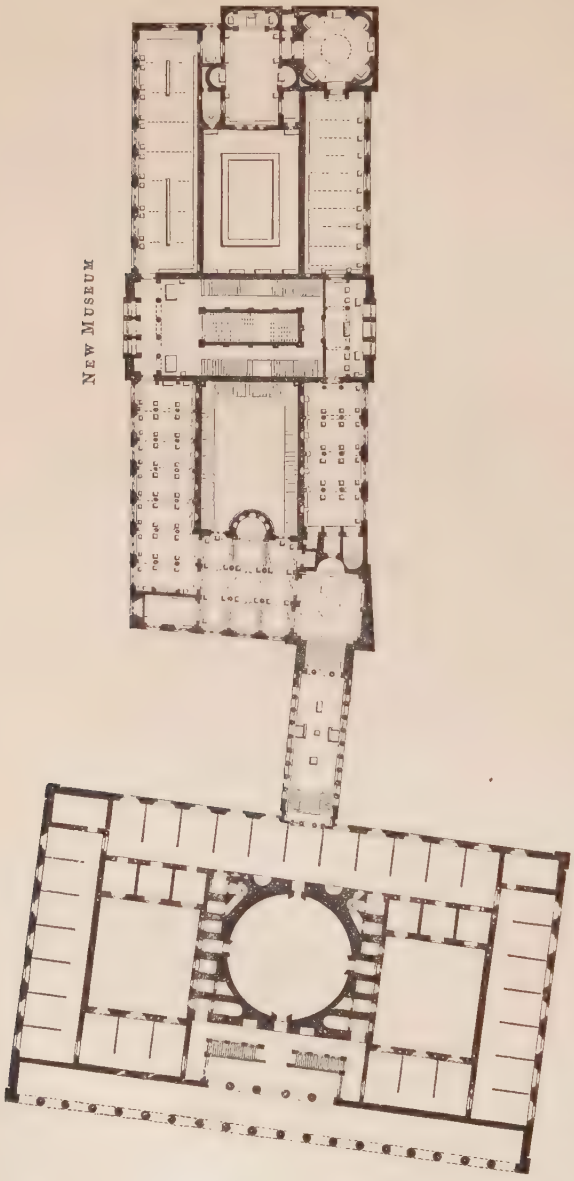
is the more to be regretted for his sake, as his greatest executed design in his favourite style is the Nicholai Church at Potsdam, and, whether from his fault, or that of those who employed him, cannot be considered successful as an architectural composition.

Externally the church consists of a nearly cubical block 120 ft. square in plan, by 87 in height, with a Corinthian portico attached to one side, far too small for its position, and with a great dome placed on the top, as much too large for the other proportions of the church. Internally the proportions are even worse, for it is practically a room 105 ft. square, and 162 in height!—a blunder which all the elegances of detail, which Schinkel knew so well how to employ, can neither render tolerable nor even palliate in any degree. The truth seems to be that the Germans have had very little experience in church-building of late years, and have no settled canons to guide them, while it requires a man of no small genius or experience to foresee what the exact effect of his building will be when executed, though on the drawing-board it may seem to fulfil all the conditions of the problem.[1]

Although Berlin cannot boast of any church so beautiful as Ziebland's basilica, or so complete a forgery as the Walhalla, her Museum is a more perfect and more splendid building than any of the cognate examples at Munich. The portico consists of eighteen Ionic columns between two antæ, extending in width to 275 ft., and in height, from the ground to the top of the cornice, it measures 64 ft. It has also the very unusual advantage of having no windows in its shade, but an open recessed staircase in the centre, sufficient to give meaning to the whole; and now that the internal wall is painted with frescoes—though these in themselves are by no means commendable—it has more meaning and fewer solecisms than any other portico of the same extent which has been erected in modern Europe. The great defect is, perhaps, that it is not high enough for its situation. The space before it is large, and some of the buildings around it are high, while the square block which conceals the dome in the centre is not sufficiently important to give the requisite height and dignity to the building. It is also another proof of the extreme difficulty of adapting purely Classical Architecture to modern purposes, that most of the beauty and all the fitness of this beautiful portico disappear except when seen directly in front. The moment you view it in connection with the flanks, you perceive that it is only a mask to a very commonplace building, with three storeys of rather mean windows inserted in a stuccoed wall!

[1] If the good people in Berlin carry out the rebuilding of their cathedral according to the design which is understood to have been accepted for that purpose, the result will be something very dreadful indeed. It has all the faults of proportion of this church, but designed with a strangeness and inelegance of detail which is very remarkable.

It is difficult to understand why Schinkel did not light his upper storey, containing the picture galleries, from the roof. All modern experience goes to prove that the pictures would have gained by this arrangement, and by it the exterior of the building would certainly have been brought much more in harmony with its portico.

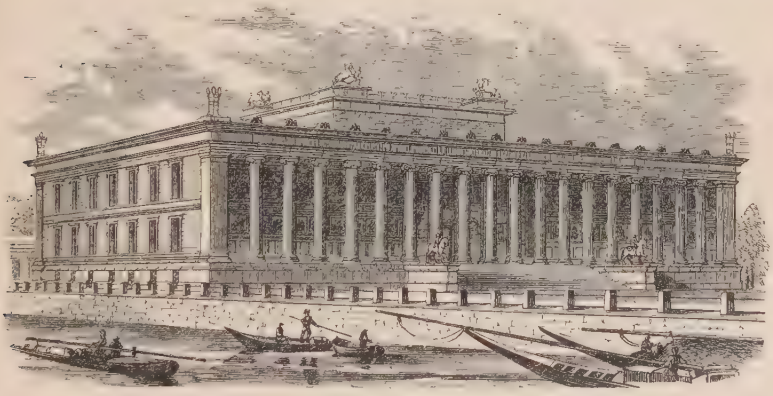


238. Plan of the Museums at Berlin. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Internally the square form of the building admitted of very little opportunity for architectural display; and the mode in which the picture-gallery is crowded with screens takes it wholly out of the category of architectural designs, but the whole is in good taste, and the central hall with its dome is a very noble and well-proportioned apartment, in perfect harmony with the portico, though, like it, overpowering the more utilitarian part of the building.

Immediately in rear of this Museum another has been recently erected by Stüler, which, though making little or no pretensions to architectural display outside, is a far more satisfactory design as a whole than its more ambitious predecessor. In no part is

there any attempt to make it appear anything but what it really is—a three-storeyed building, containing galleries for the accommodation of works of art; but the whole is carried out with so much judgment, and the details are so elegant, that, with infinitely more convenience and probably less than half the relative cost, it is as pleasing to look upon as Schinkel's great creation. Its principal merit, however, consists in its internal arrangement. The great staircase—now that its frescoes and decorations are completed—is probably unmatched by any similar apartment in any building or palace in Europe, either for dimensions or design. It leads to a series of apartments on each of the three floors, designed with reference to the collection it was destined to contain, and the frescoes which adorn each room are equally in accordance with its object. In fact, no modern palace, much less any modern museum, displays the same amount of thought,



239. View of the Museum, Berlin. From Schinkel's own design.

or the same happy harmony of artistic design with utilitarian purpose, as this building does. Without the introduction of a single detail that is not pleasing to contemplate, or which does not add to the beauty of the whole, every part is decorated to the utmost extent consistent with the purposes of the Museum, and every ornament is appropriate to the place where it is found.

Next to that of the Museum, Schinkel's best design in Berlin is the Theatre in the Gens-d'armes Platz (Woodcut No. 225), which will be noticed further in the chapter on Theatres.

Schinkel can hardly be said to have been equally successful in the façade he added to the old contorted design of the Public Library under the Linden. It is simple and well-proportioned, and its details elegant and appropriate: but the effect is monotonous and cold, and the little attic windows under the cornice lead one to suspect a sham which does not exist: but its worst defect is, that its extreme severity

is neither in accordance with its purposes, nor in harmony with the older building to which, in spite of the repudiation of its style, it is unfortunately attached.

The Guard-house on the opposite side of the street has been much and deservedly admired. It is an elegant, and, as far as the Classical style would admit, an appropriate building for its purpose—much more so than that erected by the same architect for the same purpose at Dresden. There is a massive simplicity about the Berlin example which speaks of resistance and security; at Dresden, the building, though pleasing both in proportions and detail, might be a casino, a villa, or anything. It bears no mark of its destination on its face.

In all these, as in almost all his works, Schinkel adhered literally to the Revived Classical or Gothic styles as he understood them: the only important occasion on which he departed from those principles and attempted originality being in the design for the Bauschule, or Building Academy, situated near the Palace at Berlin. The design of this edifice is extremely simple. It is exactly square in plan, measuring 150 ft. each way, and is 70 ft. in height throughout. The lower storey is devoted to shops: the two next to the purposes of the institution: and above this is an attic in the roof, which latter is not, however, seen externally, as it slopes backwards to a courtyard in the centre. The ornamentation depends wholly on the construction, consisting only of piers between the windows, string-courses marking the floors, a slight cornice, and the dressings of the windows and doors. All of these are elegant, and so far nothing can be more truthful or appropriate, the whole being of brick, which is visible everywhere. Notwithstanding all this, the Bauschule cannot be considered as entirely successful, in consequence of its architect not taking sufficiently into consideration the nature of the material he was about to employ in deciding on its general characteristics. Its simple outline would have been admirably suited to a Florentine or Roman palace built of large blocks of stone, or to a granite edifice anywhere; but it was a mistake to adopt so severe an outline in an edifice to be constructed of such small materials as bricks. Had Schinkel brought forward the angles of his building and made them more solid in appearance, he would have improved it to a great extent. This would have been easy, as much less window space is required at the angles, where the rooms can be lighted from two sides, while the accentuation of what is now the weakest part would have given the building that monumental character which elsewhere is obtained from massiveness of material. This would also have given vertically that light and shade which it is almost impossible to obtain from horizontal projections unless stone or wood is employed. Though very nearly successful, this design fails in being quite so, because, though its details are perfectly appropriate to the materials in which it is erected, its



240. Part of the Façade of the Building School at Berlin. From Schinkel.

outline and general character are at variance with these, and belong to another class; had both been in accordance, it would have been Schinkel's best performance, and one of the most satisfactory structures in Berlin. Even as it is, it marks an epoch in the art, when a man in Schinkel's position dared to erect anything so original and so free from Classical or Gothic feeling as this design certainly is.

Though these buildings are not, it must be confessed, faultless, they have all a certain quality of grandeur and purpose about them which renders them pleasing and worthy of attention; but whether it arises from individual caprice or a decadence of taste, some of the more recent erections of Berlin are far from being so satisfactory. The private residence of the late King, under the Linden, now occupied by the Crown Prince and our Princess Royal, is, though of great pretence, still a very poor design. A low basement, meant only for offices, supports a portico of four Corinthian columns, covering two storeys of windows, and these are repeated as pilasters all round the

building. Over this is a very tall attic, overloaded with ornament, which is far from being in good taste. The whole looks more like an English country-house of the early Georgian era than anything that ought to be erected in Berlin at the present day.

The new Exchange, too, is very much of the same character. A commonplace basement, rusticated on one side, and with a range of diminutive Doric columns on the other, supports a considerable number of Corinthian pillars on two faces, some detached, some stuck to the walls, some flattened into pilasters. There are two storeys of windows under these pillars, and an attic above. The whole will be one of the most expensive and elaborately-ornamented buildings in the city, but the amount of thought displayed is very small indeed, and its design very commonplace and questionable.

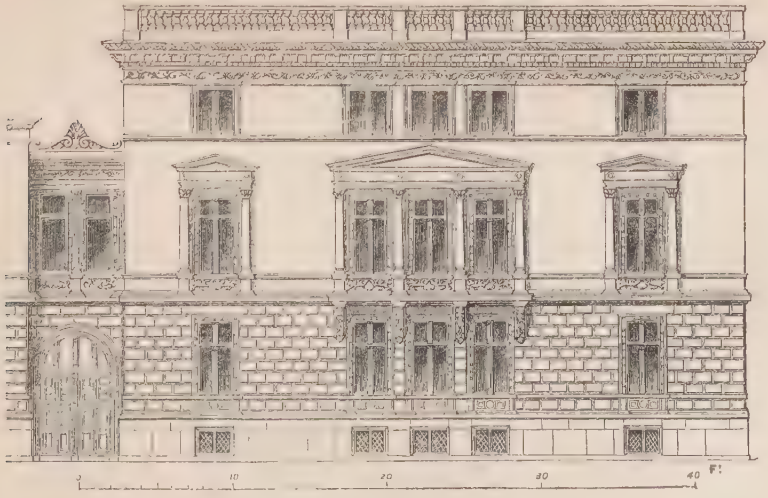
If the Berlin architects, after so fair a start, are to sink to such mediocrity, it will be very sad indeed. But the state of private Architecture gives great encouragement to the idea that better things may be looked for. In no city of Europe has the elegance of Classical Art been so successfully applied to domestic edifices. In the new quarters of the city and the suburbs, especially about the Thiergarten and the Anhalt Gate, there are some specimens which it is really a pleasure to look upon. Seldom do we find pillars or pilasters running through two storeys, and still more rarely do we find a cornice anywhere but at the top of a building, which, of course, is the only place where it ought to be. The string courses are kept subordinate, but always mark the floors ; and each storey is a complete design in itself. When ornament is applied, it is to the window-dressings or constructive features, and generally elegant and in good taste, so that the result of the whole is more satisfactory than any to be found elsewhere, not even excepting Paris. All that is wanted is a little more perseverance in the same course, that certain details may be more thoroughly naturalised, and the whole style settle into that completeness which would prevent the probability of future aberration.

Whether this will be the case or not is rather problematical. Already we find early French Renaissance ornaments and high roofs peeping through occasionally ; and fashion, it is to be feared, may, as it generally does, prove too strong for common sense to be able to resist. It will be very sad indeed should this prove to be the case ; for Monumental Architecture, to be satisfactory, must be in accordance with, and based upon, Domestic Art, if it is to be true and to speak to our feelings. Certainly there is no city in modern Europe where the architects have shown such aptitude in combining all that is elegant in the Classical styles with the wants and requirements of modern habits ; and if they now forsake the true path, it is difficult to say where we are to look for any indications of hope or promise for the future.

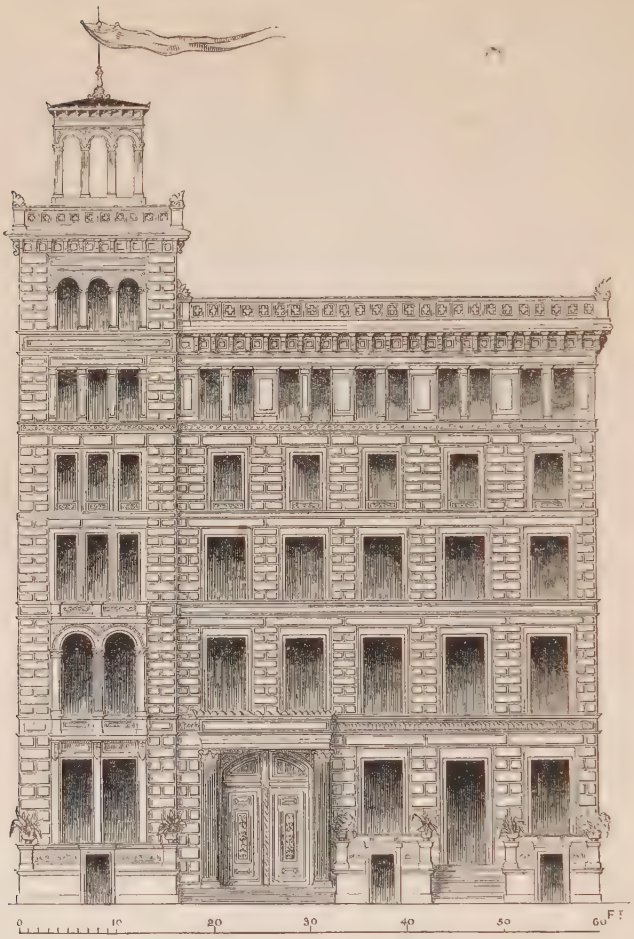


241. Group of Houses facing the Thiergarten, Berlin. By Hitzig.

The best class of the new houses at Berlin are of the type represented in Woodcut No. 241, where the windows are left to tell their own story, with only a slight rustication at the base of the building, and a cornice at the top; to these are added an occasional verandah or balcony, but which is neither a part of the construction, nor interferes in any way with the main lines of the design. With these simple



242. Palace of Count Pourtales, Berlin.



243. House at Dantzig. From Hitzig, 'Ausgeführte Bauwerke.'

elements numerous very elegant and imposing mansions have been erected of late years—some much richer than this example, some few plainer; but all exhibiting the same strict adherence to truth, and the same absence of affectation.

Occasionally, as in the recently erected house of Count Pourtales, there is, perhaps, too evident an attempt to reproduce Grecian details in more severity than is quite compatible with modern Domestic Architecture; but when the whole is so elegant as this example, and when no really essential part of the design is sacrificed to produce this effect, the introduction of these Classic details is pardonable. In the museum and studio which Klenze built for Count Racyzinski, the principles of Greek Art are carried far beyond what are found in

this palace—to such an extent, indeed, is Grecian feeling carried there, as to amount to affectation; but this is a rare circumstance at Berlin.

Another gradation of this style is illustrated in Woodcut No. 243, which, though situated at Dantzig, is by a Berlin architect; and, though ornamented with Classical details, approaches more nearly to Mediæval feeling. This tendency is, in fact, the rock on which the style will probably be shipwrecked. Already the Romantic School in Germany is obtaining immense influence; and although all the attempts they have hitherto made in Gothic Architecture have proved utter failures, still the architects are working hard, and, with the examples of what has been done in France and England before their eyes, may easily produce as good forgeries as we have done—*if they wish it*. Let us hope they may be saved this last and lowest stage of architectural debasement.

Dresden.

Only two buildings of any importance have been erected at Dresden of late years, besides Schinkel's Guard-house mentioned above. The first of these is the new theatre; the other the new picture gallery; both by Semper.

The arrangement of the picture gallery is copied from that of the Pinacothek at Munich, with only such changes as the necessities of the situation rendered necessary. The front towards the Zwirner has much the same galleried arrangement; but the openings are smaller, the piers more solid, and anything more in accordance with common sense would have been strangely out of place in a façade forming as this does the fourth side of the Zwirner Court. On the front towards the river a third tier of galleries has been erected, lighted from the roof, which gives—externally—a considerable degree of dignity and solidity to the principal storey; and the centre is an elegant and an appropriate piece of design, though a little wanting in the dignity its situation seems to demand.

Little or nothing has been done in Dresden in Private or Domestic Architecture that is at all worthy of admiration. The new buildings are as commonplace as the old, any imposing effect they may possess arising from their dimensions alone; while occasional copies of Venetian palaces, and attempts in the style which modern German architects call Gothic, betray an unsettled state of public opinion in this matter, and a want of purpose which can only lead to confusion and to bad taste.

Vienna.

The public buildings of Vienna hardly show that its inhabitants have profited by the movement taking place in other parts of

Germany, or care more for the display of architectural design than their forefathers did at any period since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

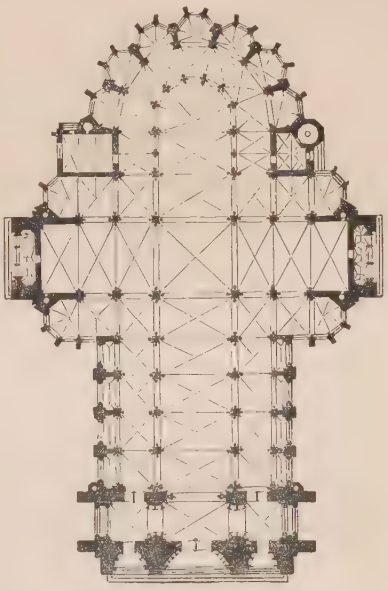
It is true that in a fit of enthusiasm, arising from the acquisition of the statue of Theseus by Canova, they, too, determined on having a Walhalla in which to enshrine their purchase, and forthwith commenced the erection of a copy of the so-called Temple of Theseus at Athens. Had they paused to investigate the matter a little, it would probably have been found that the temple they were copying was really dedicated to Mars, and that the shrine of their new god was of a different shape and style altogether. But the Viennese are not antiquaries, so this did not matter. Had they been architects, they would have known that to be seen to advantage the Grecian Doric Order must be placed on a height where it can be looked up to; and the Grecians, in consequence, always chose elevated sites for their temples. There are no hills in Vienna suited for this purpose; but there are some grand old bastions which would have formed the noblest terraces for such a building, had the idea suggested itself to them. The next best place was the crest of the glacis, where it could have been approached, though in a far less degree, on an ascending plane; but even this advantage was neglected, and they finally determined on erecting it at *the bottom of the ditch!*

When the Edinburgh people placed their Doric institution at the foot of the mound, it was as great a mistake as they well could make; but a Doric peristylar temple at the bottom of the ditch of a fortress surpasses everything that has yet been done in the way of architectural bathos.

We may hope there has been an improvement in taste and judgment since then, as they have recently erected on the glacis a Gothic church, which is really a very beautiful building. As will be seen from the plan, it is practically a copy of Cologne Cathedral on a reduced scale, being 295 ft. in length externally, with a nave 94 ft. wide internally; and inside the transept it is 160 ft. from wall to wall; so it is really a first-class church, as far as dimensions go. Its details are all designed with elegance, and executed with care; so that, altogether, it probably is the best modern reproduction of the style of Cologne Cathedral. The poetry and abandon of the older examples is, of course, wanting; but after the completion of one or two such buildings we shall be saved from the monstrosities of that strange style which the Germans have recently been in the habit of assuming was Gothic!

A still larger church has recently been erected as the Cathedral of Linz. It is 400 ft. long internally, and the transept is 188 ft. from wall to wall. It has only one western tower instead of two, and is neither so rich in ornament nor so complete in its details

as the Viennese example. Both, however, are very grand churches, and probably indicate that the future style of ecclesiastical edifices in Austria will—as with us—be in the style of the Middle Ages. If this should be the case, of course we can look for nothing from that country but reproductions of bygone designs. In a country so intensely Catholic as Austria, this will at least be appropriate, and the adoption of this system there need be lamented only in an artistic point of view; if we may judge from the very little they have done in past ages, this cannot be a subject of deep regret to the architectural world.



244. Plan of the Votif-Kirche on the glacis at Vienna. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

The most striking, as well as the most extensive, new building in or about Vienna, is the new Imperial Arsenal; and this is all the more creditable, inasmuch as this class of design is generally handed over to the engineer, and he is left to provide as best he can for the utilitarian exigencies of the case, with little, if any, reference to the artistic effect. In this instance, though the whole is of brick, with only the slightest possible admixture of stone-dressing in the more ornamental parts, the different blocks have been so arranged that their purpose is easily understood, and in order that they may group pleasingly with those around it.

It is an immense square of building, measuring about 650 ft. in front by nearly 2000 ft. in depth. At each angle is a great casemated barrack. Between these the longer sides are occupied by blocks of storehouses. Opposite the entrance is the chapel, and in the centre are the cannon foundry and small-arms workshops.

Besides these, fronting the entrance, is the armoury—by far the most ornate portion of the group, and a very pleasing specimen of the style of brick architecture adopted by the Italians in the Middle Ages. It may be objected that the style is too ornate, the parts too small and florid for the purpose to which they are here applied; and it is true that a more severe and massive style would have been more appropriate to the purpose—but as it is in a courtyard, and not seen from the outside, this objection is hardly tenable, the effect of the whole

being so pleasing that we must overlook such slight failings in this inartistic country.

At Pesth a Jewish synagogue has just been completed in the same style, and by the same architect—L. Förster; which is the most striking building in that city. There is an affectation of Orientalism in the balloon-like cupolas—certainly not Oriental—which crown the towers and angles, and, being gilt, detract considerably from the otherwise sober appearance of the structure. Notwithstanding this, nothing can well be more elegant than the mode in which the various



245. View of the Synagogue at Pesth.

bands of different coloured bricks are disposed, and the way in which they bind the various parts of the design together. The stone-work of the windows is also more than usually well designed, and in perfect harmony with the details of the brick edifice to which they belong. Greatness and grandeur are of course unattainable in this style and with this material, but the mode in which it is used at the Munich and other railway stations in Germany, with the taste displayed in this Synagogue, and in the Arsenal at Vienna, shows that a

very considerable amount of elegance can be attained by the use of different coloured bricks with a slight admixture of stone and of terra-cotta ornaments; and there is no reason why these materials should not be employed with the most modern as well as with the Mediæval styles.

Although there are, besides this, some very large and important buildings in Pesth, and some very picturesquely situated ones in Buda, there are none which can pretend to much architectural beauty. They are all according to the usual recipe—pilasters and plaster, adorned with white or yellow wash, relieved by green Venetian blinds. At Vienna another element is introduced, very destructive of architectural effect, in the double windows which it is found necessary to employ everywhere. The outer ones, in consequence, being flush with the wall, there is no apparent depth of reveal to the windows, and the whole is as flat and unmeaning as it well can be. When we add to this that all the walls are stuccoed and all the more delicate mouldings choked by repeated coats of whitewash, it is easy to understand how vain it would be to look for any very pleasing examples of Architectural Art among the modern houses of Vienna or its neighbourhood.

The great monastic establishments which still exist in various parts of the Austrian dominions would have afforded numberless opportunities for Architectural display among a more artistic people; but none of them are remarkable for any evidence of taste in this direction. One of the oldest and most celebrated is Klosterneuberg, near Vienna. In the year 1730, the Emperor Charles VI. commenced the present buildings on a scale of such magnificence that they are still incomplete; but the parts that have been finished show so little real artistic feeling that this is hardly a subject of regret.

The most splendid of these establishments is, perhaps, the great Convent of Mölk. It stands on a rock overhanging the Danube, in a situation so grand and so picturesque that it is difficult to understand an architect not being inspired by it to do something beautiful. Notwithstanding this, it would not be easy to point out any building in Europe of the same pretensions which possesses so little poetry of design as this. Its flanks externally are not unlike those of the Escurial—plain, barrack-like buildings of great extent, pierced with numberless windows, but without any ornament. The church occupies the same relative position as that of the Escurial, with a dome in the centre and two western towers; and these are crowned by the contorted bulbous spires so prevalent throughout the Austrian dominions.

Several of the smaller establishments, perched on rocks, or nestling in secluded valleys, are picturesque or pleasing, in spite of the style in which they are built. But not one, so far as is known, is worthy of admiration as an object of Art.

What we really miss most in reviewing the Architectural history of Germany are the village churches, and the country seats of the noblemen or squires, which form the bulk and the charm of the Architectural objects of this country. Even in the Middle Ages the village churches of Germany were little more than plain halls, without aisles or clerestory—polygonal at one end, with a few tall, misshapen windows at the side, and a rude wooden roof over all. The single spire, which was intended to be their external ornament, was generally placed on a square tower without buttresses or break, and the transition between the two parts was seldom even broken by battlements or pinnacles. After the Reformation, as may be easily understood, it was worse. The body of the church was little better than a barn; the tower was, if possible, even plainer; and its spire, always in Austria and generally elsewhere, of the curious bulbous character which is even now so common;[1] their only merit being that no two spires are like one another; but though the strange unmeaning vagaries in which the architects have indulged may be creditable to their ingenuity, they are by no means so to their taste.



246. German Spire at Prague.



247. German Spire at Kuttenburg.

The country seats are even more objectionable. With the fewest possible exceptions, the feudal castles are deserted and in ruins, and there is nothing to replace them. A man may travel from the Baltic to the Adriatic without seeing a single gentleman's seat or country-house worthy of the name. If a nobleman has a mansion where he can reside on his lands, it is only like a large public building at the end of a village, with an avenue of well-clipped limes leading from the front door to the public road, and perhaps an acre or two of ground laid out as a formal flower-garden. The most beautiful sites in the loveliest scenery are utterly neglected. The conviction is everywhere forced upon us that the Germans as a people have none of that real appreciation of the beauties of nature which in this

[1] Woodcuts 236 and 237 are selected as favourable specimens of these spires—if they may be so called.

country goes so far to redeem our want of knowledge, or of true feeling for Art in general. The country has no charms for them; and it is very questionable whether Art can be true or deep-felt without a love of Nature. At all events, in so far at least as Architecture is concerned, it seems in Germany to be an exotic forced into a transitory bloom in the hot-beds of the cities, but having no real existence beyond their walls—a matter of education or of fashion, but not a necessity, or a thing in which the people really take a deep or heart-felt interest.

Berne.

Although Switzerland is not in reality a part of Germany, it seems hardly worth while to devote a separate chapter to a country which, during the three hundred years over which this history extends, has only erected one building of sufficient importance to be mentioned. Being principally Protestant, and generally poor, it is hardly to be expected that any new or important churches would be found; and the cities are, as a general rule, hardly important enough to indulge in any great display in their municipal buildings.

Recently, however, they have erected a Federal Palace at Berne, which is one of the best modern specimens of the Florentine style that has yet been attempted. The centre especially is bold and well designed; and with its deep balcony, and the range of open arches under the bold cornice, it has a dignity worthy of the style, and very superior to anything of the same class at Munich or elsewhere. The wings are hardly equal to the dignity of the centre. So bold a cornice suggests and requires something more important than a plain tiled roof; and the centre,—at least over the great hall at the end,—ought to have had as bold a parapet as the central division of the front. These, however, are minor defects; and, taken as a whole, it is one of the most successful, as it is, for its situation and purposes, one of the most appropriate buildings of the present day, and forms a singular and instructive contrast with the Parliament Houses which we were erecting simultaneously, and for the same identical purposes.

Putting on one side, for the present, the question whether the Swiss building is not too literal a transcript of the Florentine style, a comparison of the two buildings fairly raises the question, which of these two styles—assuming we must adopt one of them—would be most suitable for the situation at Westminster.

Taking the outline of Barry's river façade (Woodcut No. 217) as a basis for comparison, let us suppose a block like the centre of the Bernese Federal Palace placed at either end, where the Speaker's and Black Rod's houses now stand; between these a central block, more ornate, but of the same height as the wings, and occupying the same

extent of ground as the centre division of the Parliament Houses; and then these joined by curtains four storeys in height, like those at Berne, but more ornamental in character, which their being recessed would render quite admissible. Which would have been the nobler building, or the best suited to our purposes?

The first answer that occurs is, that though so much larger in bulk, owing to the increased height, the Florentine building would have been very much cheaper—probably to the extent of one half, in so far at least as the architectural decorations of some parts are concerned.

The next reply would be, that it is more suited to our climate, having no deep undercuttings to be choked up with soot, and no delicate mouldings to be eaten away by damp and frost.



248. Federal Palace at Berne. From a Photograph.

The Bernese style would have combined perfectly with towers of any height, or domes of any extent, without there being any danger of their crushing the building to which they were attached, or destroying its effect in any way.

It would have produced a far more massive and a manlier building, and therefore more appropriate to its purposes, than one carried out in the elaborately elegant, but far too delicate, style employed in the Westminster design.

Internally it would have demanded painting and sculpture, not of the Mediæval type, but of the highest class the art of the day could furnish; while the furniture and decorations might all have been of the most modern and most elegant patterns.

In addition to these advantages the Hall and the Abbey would have been left in the repose of truth and beauty, not, as they now are, in competition with a modern rival, imitating their ornamentation, but far surpassing them in richness of display.

A few years hence, few probably will dispute that a simpler, a more massive, and more modern style would have been far better suited for our Parliament Houses than the one adopted. Whether it ought to be the one the Swiss have employed is much more doubtful. It seems, however, clear that they are nearer the truth than ourselves; and with some modifications their style might be so adapted as to make it approach more nearly to what is really right and truthful than anything which we have yet done in modern times. Of course the right thing to do would be to forget both the Medici and the Tudors, except in so far as we can learn anything from the new forms they introduced, or the new principles they elaborated, and, having done this, to think of the nineteenth century only and its requirements. We are still far from this; but there are signs that we are advancing in that direction. When once fairly embarked on this path, it will not be difficult to produce buildings which, with as much grandeur of outline, shall be far more beautiful than the Berne example, and, with equal beauty of detail, will be equally more majestic than our Houses of Parliament.

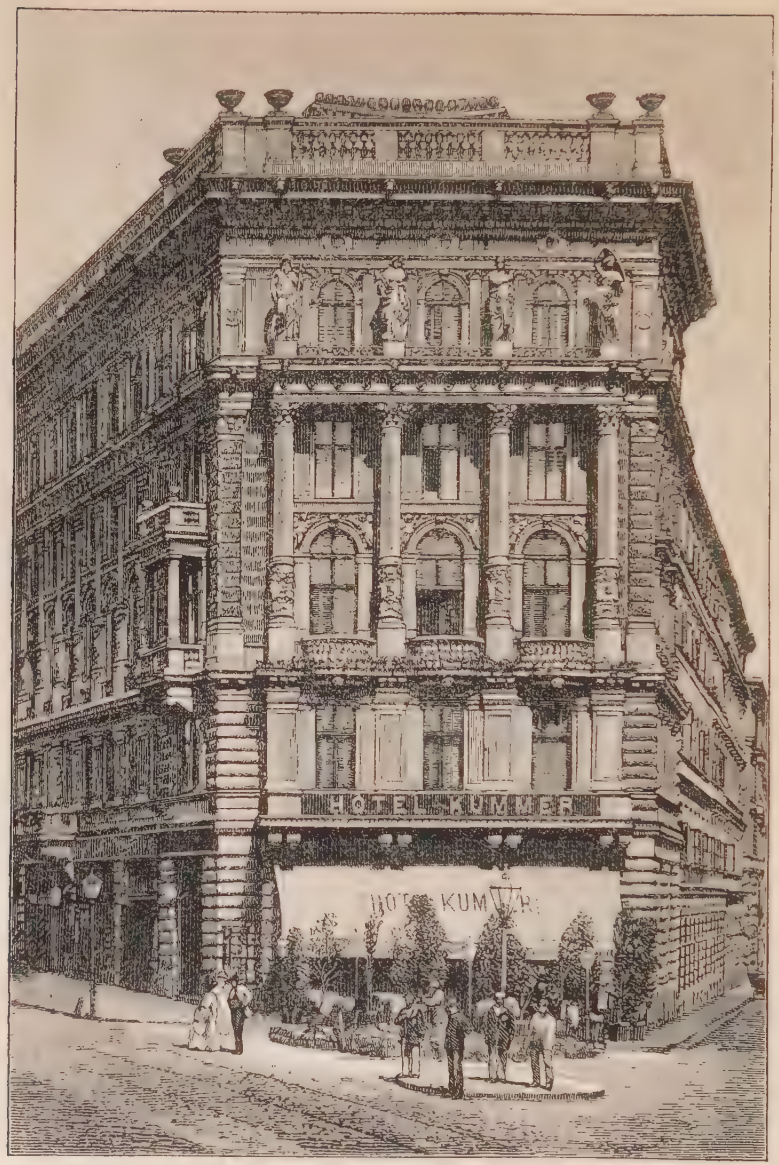
CHAPTER III.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN GERMANY, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[If we thoroughly grasp the idea that the style of architectural design belonging by natural law to the current period of modern European civilisation is the Italian Renaissance in the widest application of the term, it would seem to follow clearly enough that the highly developed intelligence of the German nation, although by no means disinclined to accept any favourable opportunity for enjoying the intellectual amusement of "reviving" the obsolete antique, must inevitably revert to the standard system in the end. Accordingly, the revival of the academical Hellenic which has been described in the foregoing pages may no doubt be regarded as most excellent and learned histrionics: and we may also award a certain amount of praise to the efforts subsequently made in other quarters of the land to produce an imitation—equally histrionic although not learned—of the fashionable Neo-Gothic work of England: but what we should expect to see without fail would be a return to the national version of the Italian; or rather, we should suppose that this German-Italian in its ordinary forms would be found to have continuously governed the every-day design of the period, and that the exhaustion of the experiments of revival would simply leave the proper mode of the times to proceed with its development without obstruction. And such has been the case. Up to the date of the war between Germany and France in 1870, the German architects may be said to have followed the lead of Paris contentedly. Not that the German-Italian was the French-Italian; but the two were of the same type, and the one a guide for the other. The inherent finesse of the Gallic Latin could scarcely be emulated by the Teuton, and there lay the principal difference. The extraordinary impulse which was communicated to Parisian architecture by the magnificent building policy of the Second Empire was scarcely felt in Germany. Neither does it appear that the acknowledged philosophical power of the Germans manifested itself in their architectural work in any phase of more thoughtful design; the typical Frenchman of any culture is an artist born rather than made, while the typical German, like the Englishman, is perhaps too frequently neither the one nor the other. But, be all this as it may, the result of

the war certainly was to confer upon the united German nation a new sense of leadership: and the effect of this has naturally made its appearance, amongst other things, in architecture. In two words, German artistic building may be said to have become much more powerful and much more elegant. The increase of power may be simply traced to an advanced sense of importance; the improvement in elegance is still to be attributed to the influence of France. If before the war France had been dependent upon Germany for guidance in art, it is perhaps not too much to suppose that the indignant sense of defeat would have led her architects to repudiate the accustomed guidance at whatever sacrifice; but there was no such difficulty on the other side. It had been the habit to keep an eye on French work for the sake of artistic profit, and obviously there was no reason why that course should not be continued; the feeling of martyrdom was with "our friends the enemy." The German edition of the Parisian Architecture has consequently produced in the great towns during the last twenty years a profusion of very elegant and stately edifices, most notably in Vienna and Berlin.

The illustrations No. 248*a* and 248*b* give a very fair, and a very favourable idea of the German architecture of the passing day. That the graces of proportion in detail which are so characteristic of similar work in France are to be discovered here, is more than the critic could venture to suggest; but neither can it be denied that there is to be seen a certain display of refined taste and liberality of artistic motive which indicate the command of both natural intellect and acquired knowledge in their highest forms. Compared with some of the best examples of English work of a similar type, it may perhaps be said that such designs as these exemplify very distinctly the results of the elaborate academical training of Continental schools contrasted with the non-academical office-pupilage which constitutes the chief part of architectural education in England. It is stoutly contended by typical English critics that the system of office-pupilage is the preferable mode of instruction; that it encourages the development of individuality and original feeling; and that it fills the country with variety of artistic treatment, where the ateliers of Continental States produce only elegant uniformity and monotony, and artificial graces which soon pall upon the appetite. At the present moment earnest endeavours are being made in London to establish the means of supplementing, if no more, the training of the office, by introducing the element of outside teaching, and everyone must wish well to such attempts. It can scarcely be disputed that the typical English architect, who has "picked up" the craftsmanship of design in two or three good offices, or perhaps in only one, has to rely upon somewhat limited resources. At the same time it may be clear enough that after a long-drawn-out training in a State-supported School of the Fine Arts on the Continent the student is most likely to find himself overtaught, and his freedom of thought very much drilled out of him. If the happy

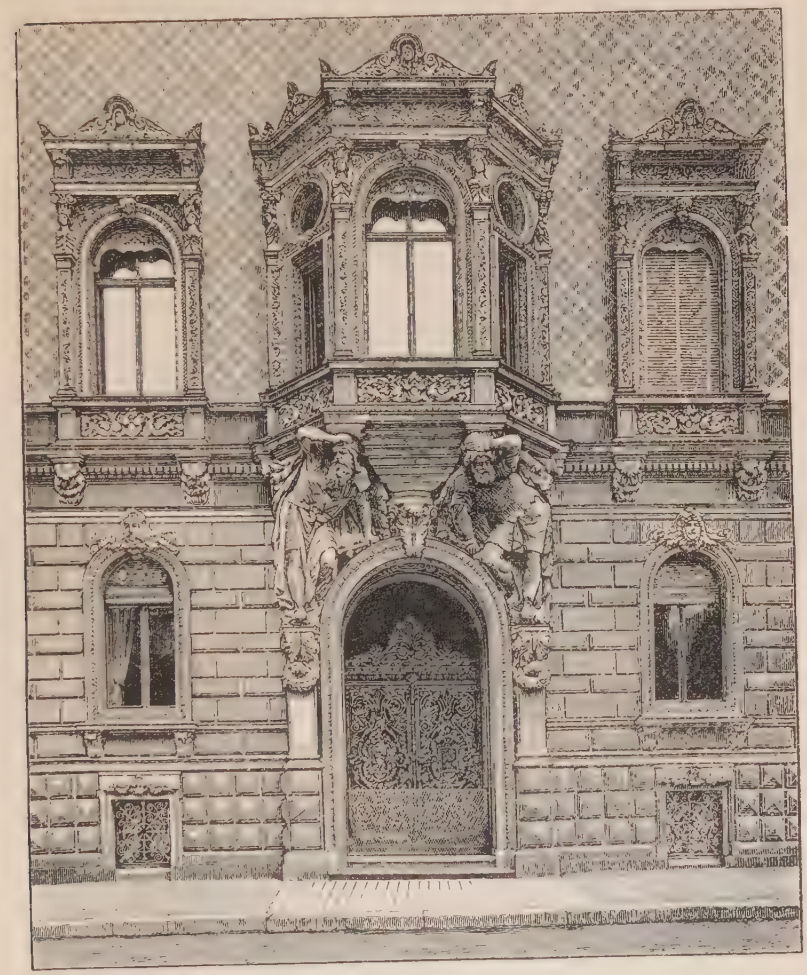


248*a*. Street Architecture, Vienna.

medium can be discovered soon enough and accepted in English offices, no doubt it will be a very good thing for the times that are coming.

One thing that is illustrated very fairly in No. 248*b* is the somewhat meretricious ornamentation which is to be seen in a good deal of the new street Architecture of Germany; it is scarcely necessary to observe that in weak hands this practice is frequently carried to excess.

Another practice is illustrated in No 248*a* which in England has now happily disappeared in all good work; for not a little of the most attractive architecture in some of the chief German cities is unfortunately produced in cement. Now it may no doubt be contended with perfect truth in the abstract that cement facing, if used in the right way,



248*b*. Dwelling House, Berlin.

is a legitimate building-material. The use of plaster-work, for instance, as an interior finish for walls and ceilings, it is a mere affectation of archaism to think of disparaging; so much so that the brick facing inside our churches and the stone facings inside the London Law Courts may be said to carry realism into actual vulgarity. But whenever either plaster-work within or cement work without is to be used as a

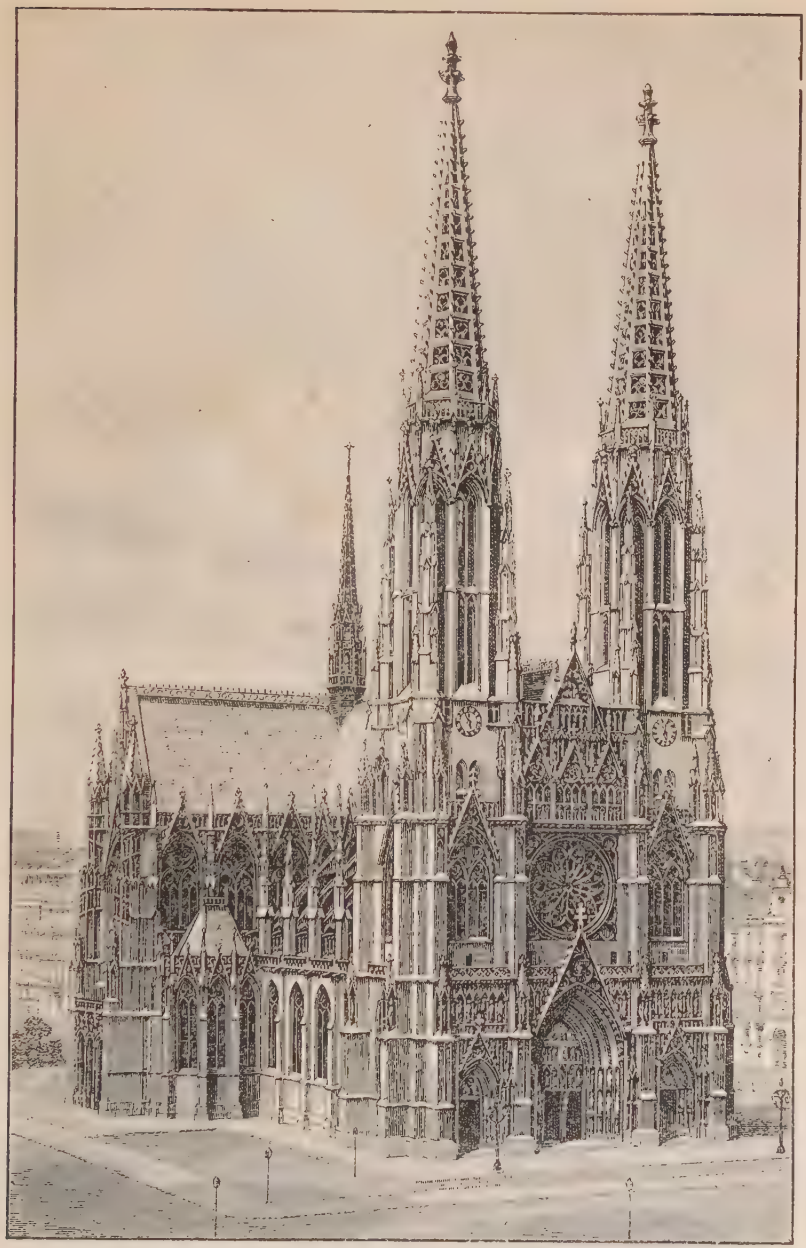
material for artistic Architecture—not mere wall-covering—then the true architect is bound to face the question boldly, what are the limits of its



Parliament House, Berlin.

248c.

perfectly legitimate use? To produce a Classic "order" inside a public hall in lath and plaster on cradling, is certainly not legitimate; and when the nave-piers and arches of a church have been constructed in the



248*d*. The Votive Church, Vienna.

same way the case is no worse. To build up an academical street façade in rough brickwork coated with a surface of cement to simulate the design of ornamental stonework is also a thing that cannot possibly

be done legitimately. In some of Sir John Soane's work in London — notably in his Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields—an honest attempt seems to have been made to contrive a style of ornament suitable for the



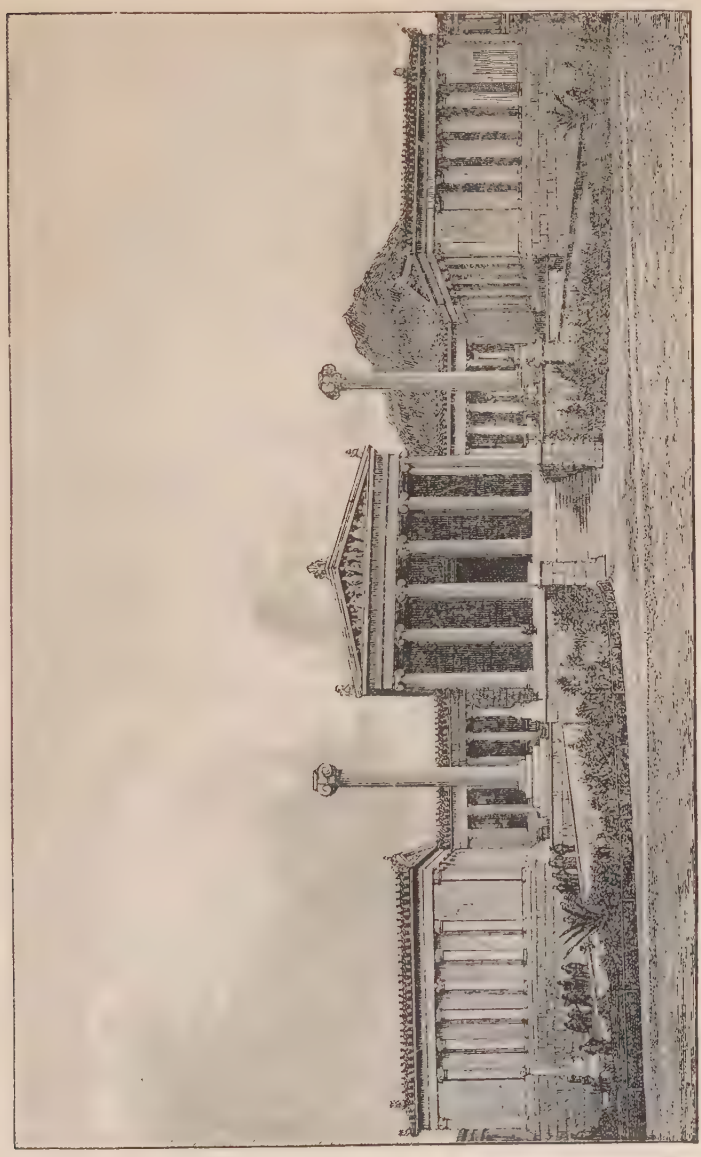
The Town Hall, Vienna.

248e.

cement facing then so universally in use ; the result may no doubt be called a failure, but there is evidence at least of both thought and courage. But the question of the artistic treatment of plastered surfaces is a large one, and, although in theoretical criticism by no

means uninteresting, is in practice of too little importance to have provoked much discussion.

Plate 248*c* represents the central part of the principal front of the



The National Academy, Athens.

248*c*.

new Parliament House at Berlin. It is grandiose and stately no doubt in an extreme degree, and sufficiently academical; but no one can say it is characterised by the reticence of true artistic power. It is scarcely

vulgar, but it appeals to the vulgar. The sculptural ornament is ornament only, and very much overdone; the architecture would be almost better with none of it at all. But the radical fault of the composition is the prodigious pompousness of the entrance door—for this is all it is. To what vast Arena can such an Arch of Triumph admit what superglorious Titanic Beings? At any rate it tells the story admirably of the perhaps excusable inflation of the German genius after the somewhat unexpected conquest of its by no means modest neighbour.

It can be easily understood that, whilst French taste could never be brought to occupy itself seriously with the revival of the Gothic Arts, the sympathies of the Germans might be readily led in that direction, as has been the case with the kindred English. Plates 248*d* and 248*e* represent two crowning efforts of the modern German Gothic, the Votive Church in Vienna by Von Ferstel, and the Town Hall of the same city by Von Schmidt. It is needless to remark that the ecclesiastical example is very superior work to the municipal: in fact English Church architects may, from their very highest standpoint, cordially recognize the great artistic merits of the Votive Church, while even the least exacting of our Secular Gothicists would think twice or thrice before according their approval to the Town Hall. Both compositions are somewhat showy; but that is characteristic of the locality generally, and perhaps excusably so in the bright capital of Austria.

The National Academy at Athens (Plate 248*f*) is of course not on German ground, but, as an admirably designed monument of German Hellenism by Von Hansen on the very soil of Hellas, the credit of its merits has to be awarded to German art. The reader will no doubt perceive that the pair of monumental columns are to carry statues.

Referring to the question of the influence upon the character of industrial art products in general which has been brought about by the International Exhibitions, it may perhaps be said that in Germany the results have not been so directly apparent as in England. This would naturally be so. The artistic guidance of France had always been much more at hand, and its authority more cordially appreciated. The enterprise of England as a country of such great wealth has also been greater in such matters than that of the poorer Fatherland. But that German artizanship of the higher order has had its share in the benefits conferred on the whole world by the intercommunion of the last forty years will not be questioned by any one. It may also be said that German academicalism has not succumbed to the popular principle; but this again is but a local and superficial question, and, so far as Architecture is a test, the advance of artistic liberty cannot be denied.—Ed.]

BOOK VI.

NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

BELGIUM.

There is a group of small nationalities extending from the northern boundary of France to the Arctic Sea, along the shores of the ocean, which may safely be grouped together; and, as far as their Architectural history during the Renaissance period is concerned, may be disposed of in a short chapter—not on account of any affinity of race or similarity of taste which exists among them, but simply because, during the three centuries to whose architectural history this volume is confined, they have done very little indeed in the way of artistic building, and done that little badly.

Much could not be hoped for from the Scandinavian group, inasmuch as, during the Middle Ages, when all the world were cultivating with success the art of Architecture, they erected very few buildings that were remarkable in any respect, and scarcely one that was original. Indeed, they showed no taste for architectural display during that period, and it is consequently hardly to be expected that they should have developed any at an age when all the more artistic nations of Europe were forsaking the wonderful styles they had for centuries been bringing to perfection. Still less could it be supposed that they should either have invented a new process, or done anything worthy of notice by that mode of proceeding which had proved so fatal in every other land.

The honest Dutch are, and were, too matter-of-fact a people ever to excel in any decorative art. In painting they delighted in reproducing nature literally but truthfully, but with the rarest possible exceptions never went beyond the limits of what might have been observed; so in Architecture, good, honest, prosaic buildings, suitable for the uses for which they were designed, were all they cared to erect.

Better things might have been expected of the Belgians. During the Middle Ages, architectural magnificence was in Belgium certainly one, if not the principal mode of display; and the country is even now covered with the gorgeous monuments which resulted from this taste. It is true her cathedrals are neither so pure nor so artistically perfect as those of France or England, and that her town-halls are, generally at least, more remarkable for their dimensions and for the richness of their details than for the beauty of their design; but still the Belgians were a building people, and strove always to build ornamentally. It is not at first sight very apparent why they should suddenly have ceased to indulge in a pursuit they had followed with such zeal, nor why, when they did return to it, they showed less aptitude for it than is to be found in any of the neighbouring lands. It may partly be that the Belgians are not essentially an artistic people; but a great deal is also due to the practical loss of liberty which resulted from their connection with Charles V., and from their falling into the power of Philip of Spain, whose iron rule put a stop to any national display. The loss of their commerce, also, in consequence of the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco de Gama, deprived them of the means, even if they had had the taste, to continue the lavish expenditure they had hitherto indulged in on objects of architectural magnificence.

To this must be added that the Reformation, although it did not change the outward form of the religion of the people, still destroyed that unhesitating faith in an all-powerful and undivided Church, which could do all and save all, and which consequently led men to lavish their wealth and devote their talents to purposes which were sure of some reward at least in this world, and certain, they thought, of undoubted recompense in the next.

Antwerp was the only one of the Belgian cities where the water was deep enough opposite her quays to be used by the larger vessels which, in consequence of the discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, came to be employed in long sea voyages; and she consequently retained something of her ancient prosperity long after Ghent and Bruges had sunk into comparative insignificance; and as a natural consequence of this, Antwerp has more the appearance of a modern town than any of her rivals except Brussels, and possesses some buildings in the Renaissance style which are worthy of attention.

The principal of these is the Hôtel de Ville, erected, in 1581, by a native architect of the name of Cornelius de Vriendt, and a very fair specimen of the style of the period. The width of the façade is 305 ft., with a height to the top of the cornice of 102 ft. This height is divided into four storeys: first, a bold, deep arcade, then two storeys of

windows of large dimensions, but each of them divided into four compartments by large, heavy stone mullions, which not only prevent their appearing too large, but make them part of the whole design, and part of the surface of the wall in which they are placed. Each window is separated from the one next to it by pilasters; and above these three storeys there is an open gallery under the roof, with square pillars with bracket capitals in front. The employment of this open loggia in this position is most successful, as it gives shadow without unnecessary projection, and seems to suggest the roof, while it appropriately crowns the walls.

The building is more highly ornamented in the centre, being adorned with double columns between each window, and rising to a height of 185 ft. to the head of the figure which crowns the pediment, though this, it must be confessed, is the least successful part of the composition. The obelisks on either side are not only unmeaning but ungraceful as used here, and the whole has a built-up appearance very unlike the quasi-natural growth of a Mediæval design applied to the same purpose. Notwithstanding this, there are few more successful designs of its class. It is free from all the extravagances which disfigure structures of its kind and age; and equally free on the other hand from the affectation of grandeur which so often deforms later buildings. Each storey here is complete in itself, and there is not a single ornamental feature applied which is either more or less than it pretends to be.

In the present state of feeling on this subject it would be the height of rashness to compare this town hall with its Mediæval rivals. But, take away their towers, and place them where they can be equally well seen, and the Antwerp Town Hall will stand the comparison as well as any other building of its age or class. Except to the extent to which the design of any one man must be inferior to that of many, and that a foreign style must be more difficult than a native one, it meets most of the requirements of good and truthful Architecture.

The same praise cannot be accorded to the churches built in the same age. The principal one at Antwerp is that dedicated to San Carlo Borromeo; but, like all churches built by the Jesuits, its façade is overloaded with misplaced ornament. Internally, there is something majestic in the simple vault of the nave, resting on a double tier of arcades, reproducing much of the old Basilican effect; but this is again spoiled by the tasteless extravagance of the details everywhere, by whitewash where colour was wanted, and by gaudy colours where simplicity and repose would be far more effective.

Although the Belgians, from the circumstances above enumerated, have no buildings erected during the Renaissance period which can rank with those of more artistic countries, still it is impossible to

wander through the land without appreciating the strong feeling for the beauties of Art on the part of the people, who, under more favourable circumstances, might and would have done things of which they might justly have been proud.

In their churches the marble altarpieces are structures often as large as Roman triumphal arches, and frequently in very much better taste: and the rood-screens and pulpits are frequently equal, if not superior, to similar examples found elsewhere. In the construction of these edifices, too, they seldom fall into the absurdities too frequently met with in other countries. When, for instance, the nave of a church is separated from its side aisles by pillars supporting arches, it is the rarest possible thing to find a fragment of an entablature on the top of its pillars. The archivolt rises boldly from the capital, and with a vigour that shows that the pillar is not a sham, but really an essential and useful part of the construction of the edifice.



249. Front Elevation of Town Hall, Antwerp.

In the church of St. Anne at Bruges the entablature over the pier arches is heavy beyond all precedent, inasmuch as it belongs to a tall Corinthian order, which is attached to the main piers of the intersection, and the capitals of which are represented by the brackets between the arches. This is not quite successfully managed, but though the Doric Order has to support this heavy entablature, and a clerestory and vault above, the effect of the whole is most satisfactory. The spectator feels not only that the support is sufficient, but that the architect knew it would be so, and secured the safety of his superstructure by the immense solidity of the parts he employed.

Though in a less degree, the same remark applies to the nave of the church of the Carmelites at Ghent, and to most of the churches

of the Renaissance age in Belgium. They may not be models of taste, but they are not the tame apings of classicality which are so offensive in other countries. It was hardly, however, to be expected that at an epoch when neither Italy nor France could produce an ecclesiastical edifice which commands unqualified admiration, a small country situated as Belgium then was could do much. All that can be said is, that in so far as church-building was concerned, she probably occupied the same relative position during the Renaissance period that she had attained to during the existence of the true styles.



250. View of St. Anne, Bruges. From Wild's 'Architectural Grandeur.'

Though Brussels has been so long a capital, it possesses no buildings of any architectural importance which have been erected since the Reformation, nor a single modern church which a traveller would step out of the street to visit in any second-rate capital of Italy. The Royal Palace is of very ordinary architecture both externally and internally; and that which a "patria grata" erected for Prince William of Orange is as commonplace a dwelling as can well be conceived; although there are some handsome apartments inside, their

beauty depends far more on elaboration and richness than on any of the higher characteristics of Art.

The buildings in which the "Chambers" meet were erected under the Austrian rule, and are not unpleasing specimens of the usual portico style, which became stereotyped throughout Europe at that period. In the new quarter of the town are some fair imitations on a small scale of the style of Domestic Architecture prevalent at Paris, but nothing either original or very well worthy of admiration; and of course there are some churches in the "style Gothique" which would make an English archæologist shudder if he came within a mile of them.

The new buildings erected for the Universities of Liege and Ghent afforded an excellent opportunity for architectural display, had there been any one with talent sufficient to avail himself of it. These structures are spacious, surrounded by large open spaces, and are at least intended to be of a monumental character. All, however, that has been produced in the way of architecture, externally, is a large portico with a crushing pediment in the one instance, and an equally large portico without any pediment in the other; and, internally, some halls and lecture theatres of very questionable taste.

To this very meagre list might be added the names of some churches,—supposed to be Gothic,—recently built, or now in course of erection; but they are such, that it will be better taste to pass them over in silence. It is too evident that Architecture does not at present flourish in this industrious little corner of the earth. Still, the knowledge of what they have done in this art during the Middle Ages, and of what they are now doing in Painting, affords every encouragement to hope that the Belgians may again resume the rank they are entitled to among the ornamentally building nations of Europe.

CHAPTER II.

HOLLAND.

THERE is only one edifice erected in Holland during the Renaissance period to which the Dutch can point with much pride as exemplifying their taste for architectural magnificence ; and, if bigness is merit, the Stadthaus at Amsterdam is entitled to the position it claims in all books on Architecture. It has also the virtue of being a stone building in a city of brick, and in a country where every stone



251. Front Elevation of Town Hall, Amsterdam.

employed has to be imported by sea ; but, as an architectural design, it can only rank with the Caserta or the Escurial, and other buildings remarkable for their dimensions, but also for their want of Art.

Its dimensions in plan are 310 ft. by 260 ; and in height there is a basement storey of 16 ft., raised on a stylobate or steps 4 ft. high ; and, above this, two ranges of pilasters, which are spread all over the building—these occupy each 40 ft. in height, and together cover four

storeys of windows. As if to make the disproportion between a basement of 16 ft. to a building 100 ft. in height even more apparent, there are seven small entrances, symbolical of the seven provinces, in the principal façade; and as these are little more than 10 ft. in height to the top of the arch, it seems a puzzle to know how the inhabitants, or traffic suitable to so large a building, could be got in by such small openings.

Internally, the arrangements are better than the exterior would lead us to expect. The four staircases at each end of the corridor are singularly convenient, even if not so artistic as one great staircase would be; and the position of the great hall in the centre is well chosen both for convenience and effect. The hall itself, which is 62 ft. wide by 125 ft. in length, is really a beautiful apartment, and by far the best feature in the building; though some of the minor apartments are also good in proportion, and elegant in their details.

As Amsterdam is a more modern city than Delft, Leyden, or Haarlem, and indeed the youngest of Dutch cities, inheriting only one important church from the Middle Ages, it has had to build those it required since the Reformation. There are the "Oude" and "Nieuwe Kercken," large and pretentious edifices, but possessing no merit either in arrangement or in architectural design: and the other churches of the town—as indeed all the Reformed churches of Holland—are plain utilitarian buildings, designed more to contain the greatest number of worshippers at the least possible cost, than to display architectural taste, or to ornament the situations in which they are placed.

CHAPTER III.

DENMARK.

The Danes—or some one for them—built one or two respectable and interesting ecclesiastical edifices in the round-arched Gothic style, during the early ages of the introduction of Christianity among them, but nothing in the Pointed styles; and, since that period, it need



252. View of the Exchange, Copenhagen. From Marryat's 'Jutland and the Danish Isles.'

hardly be said that Architecture, as a fine art, has not existed among them. The palaces at Copenhagen are large, and, it may be, convenient buildings; the churches are sufficient for their congregations, but pretend to nothing more; and the country-houses of the gentry—for the Danes do reside on their properties—are neat and cheerful residences, but without—in any published instance—pretending to architectural display.

The one building of which the inhabitants of Copenhagen pretend

to be proud is their Exchange, erected by Christian IV. about the year 1624. So much indeed do they cherish it, that when, in the year 1858, it was transferred to the mercantile community by



Castle of Fredericksborg. From Mariyat's 'Jutland.'

the government, it was expressly stipulated that no change should ever be made in it which could detract from the character of the edifice. Even with this challenge, it is difficult to discover wherein the beauty of the building consists. The principal façade is a

characteristic specimen of the style, and free from affectation, but not beautiful in itself; and the seven great dormer windows which ornament its flanks are certainly too large for their position; and the wall between them not being broken up so as to carry their lines down to the ground, they look as if merely stuck on, without any apparent connection with the building. The spire of twisted dragons' tails is a capriccio pleasing enough in its way, but hardly good Architecture.

To us the Castle of Elsinore is interesting from the associations connected with its name, and also from its architecture being the exact counterpart of that found in Scotland at the same period. We could almost believe that some parts of the Castles of Edinburgh or Stirling were built by the same architects; and Heriot's Hospital and other buildings might be quoted as proving an almost exact similarity of style between Denmark and Scotland during the Jacobean period of Art. In itself, too, the Castle of Elsinore is a picturesque pile as seen from the sea, and has a certain air of grandeur about it which pleases, though its details will not bear too close inspection.

The Castle of Fredericksborg (Woodcut No. 253) was erected by the same Christian IV. who built the Exchange and the Castle of Rosenborg at Copenhagen; and though in the same quaint style, and with the same detestable details, is, like its fellow palace in the capital, a palatial and picturesque edifice. When seen at a little distance, its numerous spires group gracefully together, and accord well with the varied plan and outline of the building. It has now also a certain air of antiquity and a weather stain about it which cover a multitude of defects; but its details are far from being pleasing, and all that can be said in its favour is, that it is a most characteristic specimen of the art—or the want of art—of the country in which it is found, and is another warning not to look for true Art among people of such purely Teutonic blood as our cousins the Danes.

CHAPTER IV.

HAMBURGH.

The great fire at Hamburgh, in the year 1842, afforded its wealthy citizens an opportunity of improving the appearance of their town, of which they have availed themselves to a very creditable extent. As this has been done chiefly under the influence of the example set them at Berlin, and under the guidance of the same architects, the new streets show the same appreciation of the requirements of Domestic Architecture which characterises the new quarters of that city.

In the new streets, every house, whether great or small, is a separate and distinct design, and, with scarcely a single exception, it is design which exactly reproduces externally the internal arrangements of the building. There is no instance of great pillared porticoes darkening the light, or concealing shop-fronts; no instance of tall unmeaning pilasters running through two or three storeys, vainly attempting to make small things look large. When cornices are used they are always at the top of the house, and represent the eaves of the roof; and the architectural features are wholly confined to the doors, windows, and stringcourses, and other essential parts of the construction. It is true that the ornaments are not always in the very best taste, nor so elegant or so well applied as those found at Berlin; but the general result is most satisfactory. The streets have all that variety and individuality which we admire so much in older towns, combined with the elegance and largeness which belong to their age; and they as fully and as clearly express the wants and aspirations of the nineteenth century as any of the buildings of the Middle Ages do those of the period in which they were erected.

On the other hand, it may be confessed that in the Post Office, the National Society's buildings, and one or two private edifices, the German architects have attempted what they call Gothic, and have failed as utterly as they generally do when they dabble in this style. Not only are their details bad, but the outline of the buildings is always so awkward and unmeaning as to obtrude most unpleasingly on the otherwise harmonious result of the rebuilding of the city.

So complete is their ignorance of the principles of Gothic Art, that it is no matter of surprise that an English architect bore off both prizes in the competition for the rebuilding of St. Nicholas's Church and for the new Town-hall. The first of these is now complete, except the upper portion of the spire, and when completed, promises, as far as such a building can do, to make the good Hamburghers believe that the nineteenth century is a myth, and that the clock of time has stood still for the last five centuries—if not in cotton-spinning and engine-making, at least in all that concerns Architecture, or its sister Arts.

CHAPTER V.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

If any buildings of the Renaissance period exist in Sweden or Norway which are worthy of admiration, all that can be said is, that travellers have omitted to describe, or artists to draw them, and that they have been equally ignored by the writers of guide-books.

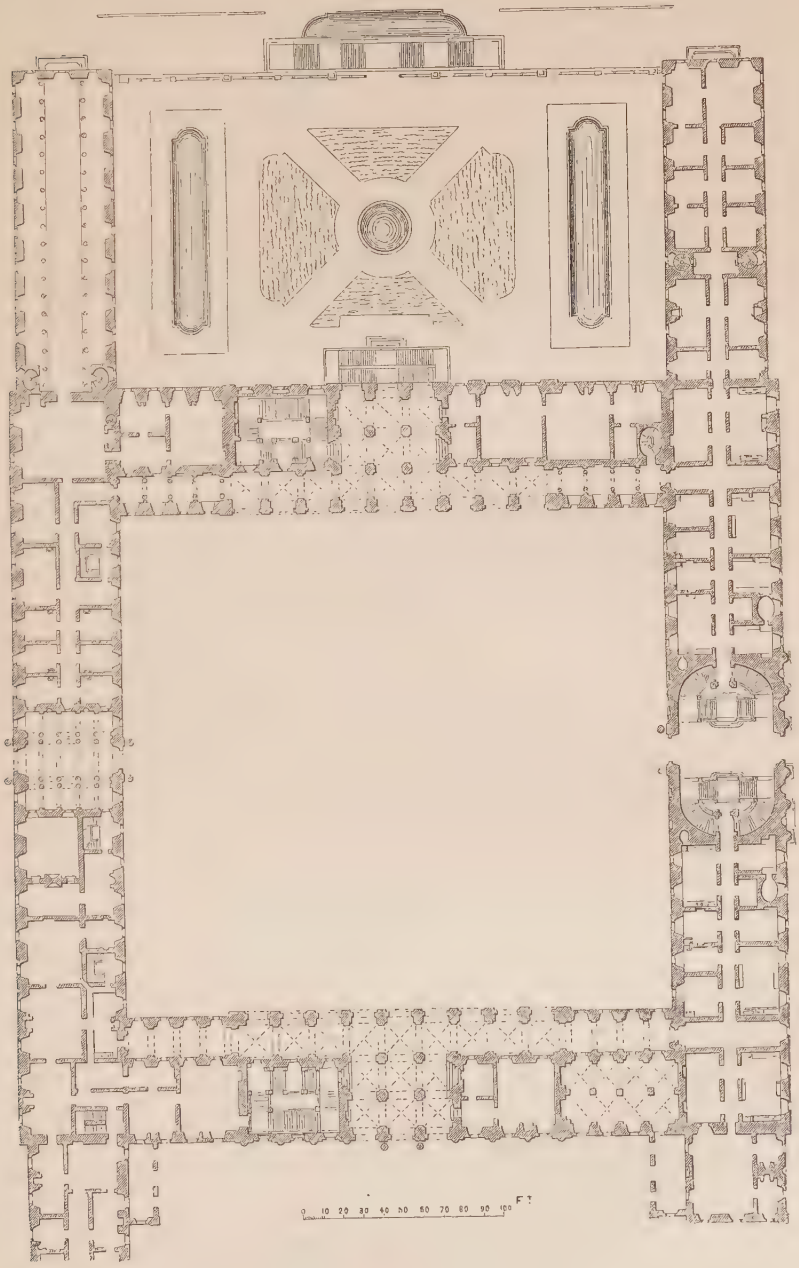
The truth, however, most probably is, that, like their kindred the Danes, they are not an artistic,—certainly not an architectural people.

The one building of theirs known as worthy of admiration is the Palace at Stockholm, commenced by the celebrated Charles XII., in the year 1698, from the designs of a French architect, Nicodemus de Tessin. Considerable progress was made in the works during the next seven or eight years; but the expenses in which his wars involved the King, and, finally, his defeat at Pultowa, arrested their progress, so that they were not so far completed as to render the palace habitable before 1753; but no departure seems to have been made from the original design then or at any subsequent period.

The main body of the building is a nearly square block, 378 ft. by 382, enclosing a courtyard 247 ft. by 270. The principal façade is extended by wings to a length of nearly 700 ft.; and the general height of the great central block is 95 ft. to the top of the balustrade, from the granite basement on which it stands. In addition to these noble dimensions, the situation is almost unrivalled; one of its faces being open to the inlets of the sea which divide the city so picturesquely into islands,—the other two, towards the town and the cathedral, are sufficiently open for architectural effect.

Its great merit, however, is the simplicity and grandeur of the whole design; in which it stands unrivalled among the palaces of Europe, with the single exception of the Farnese at Rome; and in some respects its proportions are even better than those of that far-famed palace. It is true the material here is only brick and plaster; but the parts are so large and so well balanced that we forget this defect; and it is crowned by a cornicione so well proportioned to the mass below, that the eye is charmed and the feelings satisfied from whatever point of view the palace is regarded.

There are no two buildings in the world that stand in such distinct contrast to one another, in this respect, as this Palace at Stockholm and the Winter Palace at St. Petersburgh. Though



254. Plan of Palace at Stockholm. From Wiebeking.

nearly of the same age, not differing much in size, and like one another in situation, the superior dimensions of the main block of the St. Petersburgh example is entirely thrown away by the littleness of its details, and it offends every one by the tawdriness of its bizarre decorations; while the other gains not only size, but dignity, from its noble simplicity, and pleases universally from its expressing so clearly what it is, without affectation or attempt at concealment.

It is to be regretted that, even here, the garden front is adorned with some three-quarter columns, which would be much better away; and there are some details in various parts which might be improved.



255. View of the Palace at Stockholm.

But these are trifles compared with the general merit of the design; and, considering the age in which it was erected, the Palace at Stockholm must be regarded as a marvellous instance of architectural purity and good taste.

The same Tessin erected several churches and country-houses, either in, or in the neighbourhood of Stockholm; but in these he was not so successful as in the Palace; and none of them are such as to command the admiration which that great work extorts from all who behold it.

CHAPTER VI.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

[Similar progress to that which has been described for German architecture has taken place of late years in the north-western countries of Europe, although with far inferior opportunities of display. In Belgium it is French taste that is conspicuous; but the most notable specimen of the building art which has been produced, the truly magnificent Palais de Justice at Brussels (No. 255*a*), if it were the design of a Frenchman, would certainly entitle him to be called the representative of a very advanced and original school. The supreme majesty of the edifice—aided immensely by the majesty of the situation—strikes the beholder with the greatest force, and the boldness of the grouping and the play of masses appear to carry his mind quite beyond the considerations of criticism; but, nevertheless, when the design comes to be architecturally examined, there is no doubt that, if it still pleases the eye, it fails in certain points to satisfy the intellect. The impressiveness of the composition depends largely upon the introduction of certain inordinately massive features, easily recognisable, whose omission, or reduction to the prevailing scale of the design, would probably diminish the grandiose effect considerably. In fact, there are several scales in the composition, which it is more than difficult to attempt to reconcile; and there are few better exercises to be found for the student than that which would be furnished by the problem how to bring all the features of this remarkable design into harmony of scale without detracting too much from its peculiar effect of picturesque and piquant, and almost aggressive, grandeur. Of course it would be easy enough to reduce the whole composition to one or another form of Classic simplicity, but there is something here quite adverse to all simplicity which constitutes the leading motive of the artist. On the whole this edifice may perhaps be described as the dream of a scene-painter unexpectedly realised, in which magnificence must be accepted in lieu of taste, and the vague admiration of the multitude for the analysis of the critic.

In Holland the local development of the Italian style has not differed materially from what has taken place elsewhere; but there has been some very good Gothic work done, chiefly by Cuypers, and Plate 255*b*



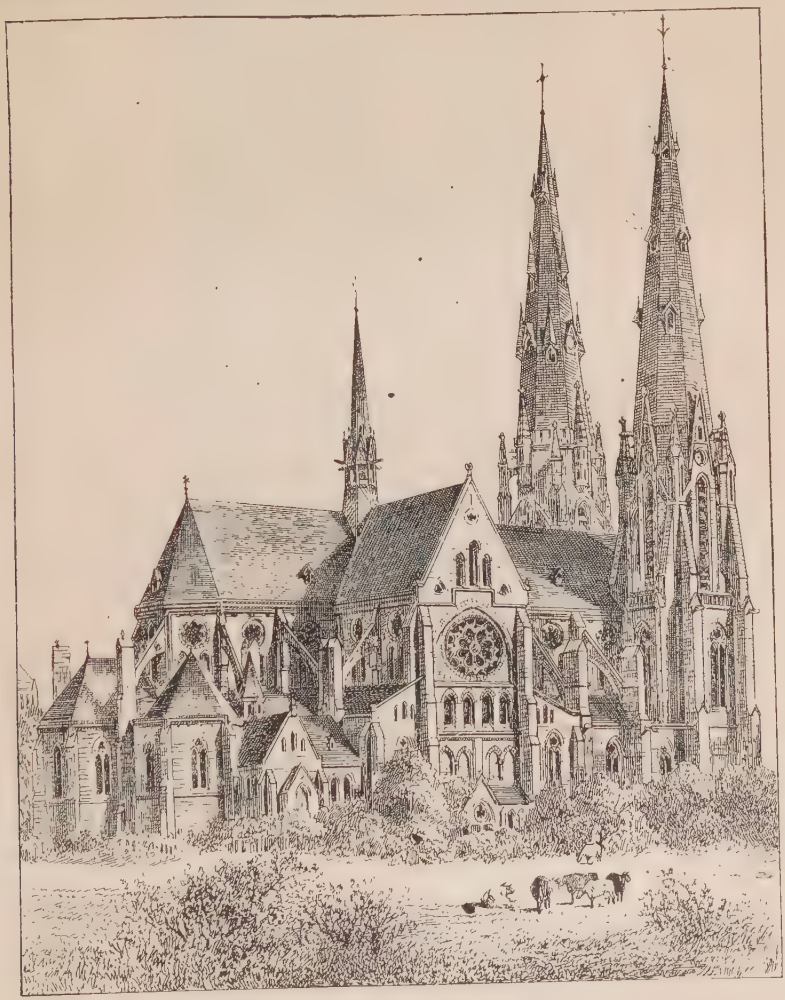
The Palais de Justice, Brussels.

255d.

may be taken as perhaps the best example that can be cited. It is not easy to see why a revival of the Mediæval mode should be more successful in that country than in Germany; but the reader will

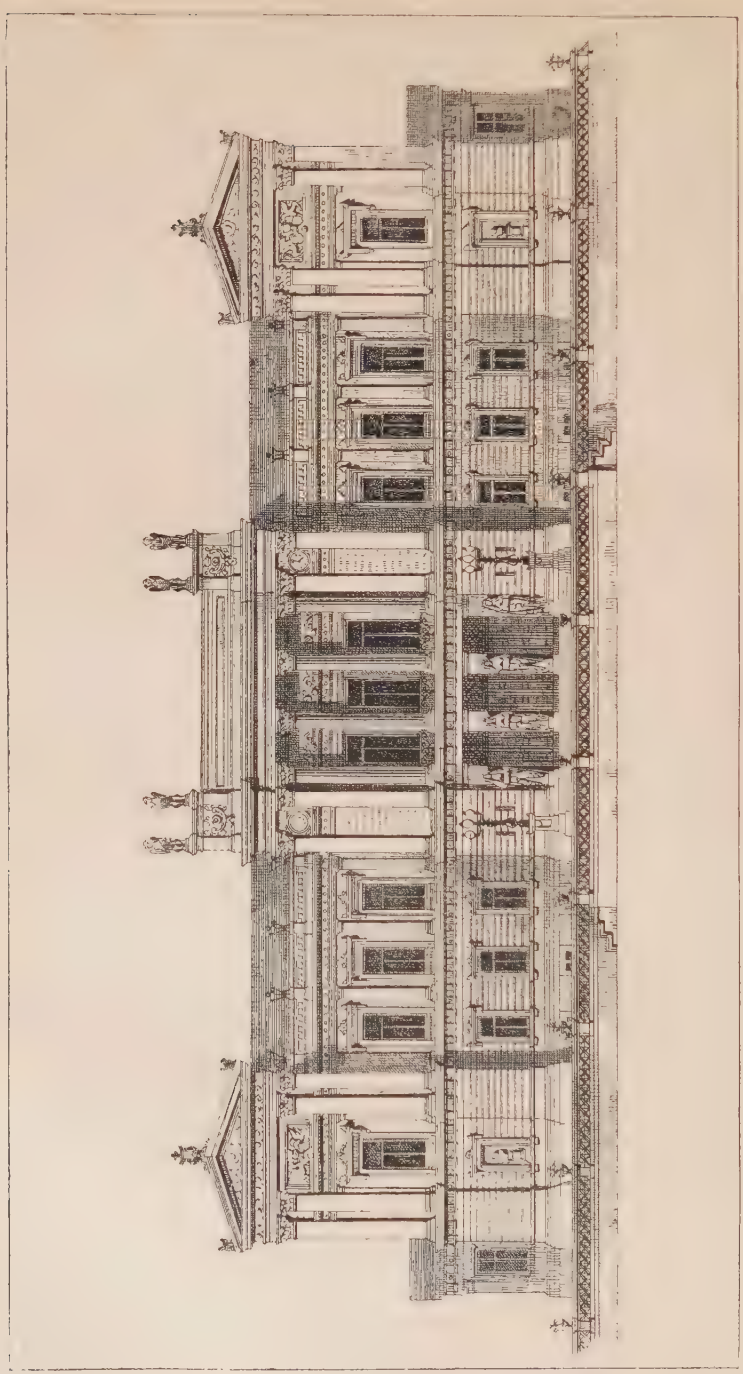
perceive in the illustration all the evidences of a high appreciation of the idiosyncrasy of the ancient style, although it will not be supposed that its rehabilitation for modern use has any such hold upon the popular mind as it has in England.

Plate 255*c* shows the principal façade of a very meritorious building at Lund, in Sweden. Leaving the reader to decide for himself how far



255*b*. Church at Eindhoven.

he can approve the acceptance of two scales involved in the use of a single-storey Order in such direct contrast with the double-storey Order which gives the motive to the composition, he will cordially acknowledge the neatness with which the one is worked into the other, not to mention other merits which will be readily discerned.—ED.]



University at Lund.

2556.

BOOK VII.

RUSSIA.

Peter the Great	1689	Catherine II.	1762
Catherine I.	1725	Paul I.	1796
Peter II.	1727	Alexander	1801
Anne	1730	Nicholas	1825
Elizabeth	1741		

INTRODUCTION.

Any one who is aware how correctly and how infallibly Architecture must express the feelings and aspirations of a people, however they may attempt to disguise them, will of course be prepared to expect, in Russia, a history of the Art differing in many essential particulars from that of any of the other countries in Europe.

Down to the time of Peter the Great the civilisation of Russia was more essentially Asiatic than European; and her Architecture was that peculiar form of the Mongolic type which has been described in the 'History of Architecture.' Occasionally, it is true, in later times, pilasters and other quasi-Classical forms were sometimes adopted from the styles of the Western world; but they were used without the least reference to their meaning, or to their appropriateness to the situation in which they were placed.

With the foundation of St. Petersburgh, in 1703, a new era commenced. Her rulers then determined that Russia should take her place among the nations of Europe, and have worked steadily and powerfully towards the attainment of this object during a century and a half. Success has attended their efforts to at least this extent, that in St. Petersburgh everything bears outwardly the aspect of Western Europe; and he must have a keen eye who can detect anything in her Architecture that would lead him to believe he was so far north as the banks of the Neva, and nearly thirty degrees eastward of Paris. Whether this exotic civilisation extends far beneath the surface or

not remains to be seen: and it may well be questioned whether it has spread widely over the empire, or is only confined within the walls of the modern capital.

So far as can be gathered from such data as are available, Moscow still clings to her Tartar feelings, and Kieff remains lethargic, with more of the East than the West in her modes of thought. But, though the effect may not yet be apparent, there is a leaven spread over the old Tartar crust, which may penetrate deeper, and may eventually work a change: but, till it does so, the history of the European form of Russian civilisation, and of her modern Art, must be chiefly confined to the capital.

In so thoroughly centralised a monarchy, the history of the capital is generally that of the empire: and, in this respect, St. Petersburgh may be said to be even more essentially the representative of modern Russia than Paris is of France. What was done in the provinces had first been done in St. Petersburgh, and was copied with more or less exactness as the place was more or less remote: but it is only in the capital that the series is complete, and the history of Art there is the history of Art throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unfortunately, the Art we find at St. Petersburgh is, like her civilisation, essentially exotic. The architects who erected the greatest number of buildings were Tressini, Pastorelli, Rossi, Guarenghi, and other Italians. Thomond and Montferrand were Frenchmen: and Speckler and Klenze are Germans; and though the names of one or two Russians do occasionally appear on the list, it is a fact that nine-tenths of the buildings of the capital were designed and carried out by foreigners, and the Russians who designed the remaining tenth—if it amounts to so much—were only tolerated because they adopted the principles and copied the details of their foreign instructors.

It is also a misfortune for Russia that she began to build in the Italian style just when the art in Europe, and especially in Italy, was at the lowest ebb of degradation—when Borromini and Guarini had contorted everything to madness, and men neither could copy what was beautiful nor invent anything that was reasonable. Europe has since attained proficiency in the copying branch, and Russia has followed slowly in her wake. Had it been possible for her to have worked out her own civilisation, she might perhaps have excelled in invention, and thus surpassed the other European nations in the exercise of true Art. But that was not the path she chose, either because the Russians are not an architectural race, or because the form of her government was such as to repress the development of artistic excellence on the part of its subjects. Judging from the experience of what they did from the time of the foundation of Kieff till the accession

of Peter the Great, it would appear that the first suggestion affords the true solution of the difficulty.[1] During the whole of that long period they did not erect a single building remarkable for constructive excellence—though they had always the dome of St. Sophia before their eyes—nor one showing any true appreciation of the principles of architectural design.

It is true there is always an amount of local character and fitness about their buildings which pleases, and the decoration is purpose-like, even when not beautiful. But in the whole Russian Empire there is not an edifice which will stand a moment's comparison with the contemporary buildings of Western Europe erected during the Middle Age period.

In other respects St. Petersburgh is much more fortunately circumstanced for architectural display than any of the older cities of Europe. When Peter the Great determined to found the capital of his vast empire on the banks of the Neva, there was hardly a fisherman's hut to be seen on the spot. It was a desolate, uncultivated plain on the banks of a noble river; but with nothing whatever to impede the alignment of his streets, or to prevent his planning the new town so as to suit any visions he might have of its future greatness.

The intention of the founder evidently was that the city should occupy the islands between the Neva and the Nefka, where the fortress stands and his own palace stood. The south side of the river was to be occupied by the dockyard, and the establishments belonging to it, these being, in the estimation of Peter the Great, the most important buildings in the empire. In fact, the object of fixing the capital on this spot, was to obtain access to the sea, and to provide suitable accommodation for the development of the future marine of the nation.

The superior spaciousness of the site on the south side, coupled with the difficulty of communicating with the rest of the empire across the river at certain seasons of the year, led to a gradual abandonment of this plan. This change further led to the curious anomaly that the three great streets dividing the town into four quarters do not radiate from the palace but from the dockyard, which still remains the principal object on this side of the river, occupying the best and most prominent position.

Barring this defect, the whole plan of the city is judicious and noble. The great river that sweeps through it, varied with its islands, and the canals that intersect it in various directions, prevent anything like monotony arising from its regularity; and the noble quays that line the river-side, and the splendid edifices rising

[1] See 'History of Architecture,' vol. ii. pp. 350-363.

everywhere behind them, give to the whole an air of grandeur and dignity which—at first sight at least—is unsurpassed by any city of Europe.

It is only when we come to examine a little more closely these nobly planned edifices that we feel the want of Art shown in their execution, and we are soon satiated in consequence of the endless repetition of the useless and generally inappropriate features which form the staple of their design.

CHAPTER I.

ECCLESIASTICAL.

It is said there are a thousand or fifteen hundred churches in Moscow, while there are hardly one-tenth of that number in the new capital—a discrepancy arising, not from any difference in the intensity of religious feeling, but from the circumstance that in Moscow the churches are mere oratories, as they are in all truly Greek communities. A cell a few feet square, with a picture of the Virgin, is a church at Moscow; and that city possesses at least four cathedrals, the largest of which would not suffice for the church of a small parish in any other part of Europe.

At St. Petersburgh, on the other hand, the churches are on the European scale, and many of them vie in dimensions with the proudest monuments of modern times.

The oldest church in St. Petersburgh is that erected or begun by Peter the Great at the Citadel. Its plan is that of a Latin Basilica, about 200 ft. long by 100 ft. in width, divided internally into three aisles, and presenting no remarkable peculiarity inside. Externally, there is one dome on the roof which suggests its connection with the Eastern Church, and at the west end a tall slender spire, reaching a height of 364 ft., a feature borrowed from the West; but in Russia, and in this form, especially suggestive of the Neva, for it is not to be found anywhere far from its banks. The details of the church are generally coarse, and more badly designed than might be expected from its architect, Tressini, who, as an Italian, even in that day, ought to have known how to draw a Doric Order.

Had Peter the Great had his own way, every subsequent church in his empire would have been a Latin Basilica like this; and there are several of this age in various parts of the empire, which are copies more or less exact of this typical edifice. But the old Tartar feeling was not so easily extinguished; and when Rastrelli, in 1734, was called upon to design the Smolnoy Monastery, near St. Petersburgh (Woodcut No. 257), he reverted to the old Muscovite type, but clothed it in the tawdriest finery of the then fashionable French school. The church, which stands in the centre of a magnificent square formed by the monastic buildings, is 245 ft. in length from east to west by 198 ft.



256. Church in the Citadel, St. Petersburgh. From Durand, 'Voyage en Russie.'

across the transepts, and the central dome reaches a height of 315 ft. —or nearly that of our own St. Paul's. It has not, however, one individual feature worthy of admiration; and the only thing that can

be said for it is, that its five domes are Russian in idea; but if their ornamentation is characteristic of Russian civilisation in that day, "*tant pis pour elle!*" It would be difficult to find in Europe anything so really bad as this.

Notwithstanding these defects, it cannot be denied that this design has some architectural merit. The church stands well in the centre of a great court, surrounded by buildings which are evidently and honestly the residences of the ecclesiastics attached to its service. The general outline of its five domes is pleasing, and they group picturesquely with each other, and with the buildings surrounding them; above all, they are Russian, affecting to be nothing but what they are, and their truthfulness goes far to redeem most of their other defects. It would be a great misfortune if anything similar were to be done again; but it would be difficult to find a more essentially characteristic representation of Russia and her Art at the time this church was erected than this fantastic monastic establishment.

The rival monastery of St. Alexander Newski, a little further up the river, is one of the few buildings of the capital designed by a Russian. His name was Staroff, and his design is far more sober and less objectionable than that just mentioned. The monastery was erected during the reign of the second Catherine, and the church, though designed by a native, is a basilica in form, 255 ft. long by 145 ft. across the transepts, the intersection being covered by a dome of Italian design and graceful outline, 60 ft. in diameter. At the west end are two towers of rather stunted and ungraceful forms; but both internally and externally there is more design and a better adaptation of parts to the whole than in almost any other church in the capital. The principal defects lie in a directly opposite direction from those of the church last mentioned. It is neither Russian nor local, but simply a moderately well designed Italian church of its age, such as might be found in any city of Italy. It looks like an Italian church, transported to this place without any assignable reason, and executed in plaster, and, in consequence, loses that amount of meaning which goes so far to redeem its fantastic neighbour.

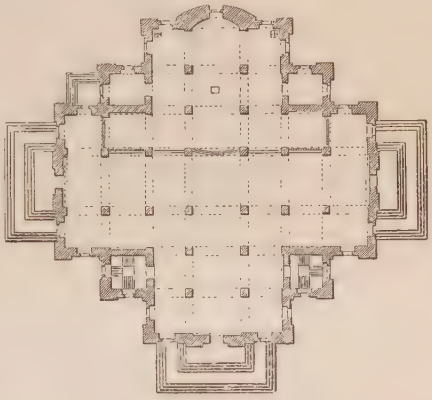
The plan of the Church of St. Nicholas is worth recording, as it is unknown in any other part of Europe, though found in the Caves at Ellora, and in many other buildings in the East. It is simple, but affording great variety of perspective; suited to the Greek ritual, which is not congregational, and does not require that the worshippers should either see or hear all that is going on. Had the centre been an octagon—as it ought to have been—it might have been very beautiful, and would have lent itself, better even than it now does, to the five domes which crown it externally. The little additional width of the central arches is hardly sufficient to give the central dome the predominance which in this class of composition it ought



257. Elevation of Smolnoy Monastery, St. Petersburgh.

to possess; and, even internally, a more important central point would have added dignity to the whole. With these alterations, it would have become practically the same design as our St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which, for this class of plan, is perhaps the happiest arrangement that has yet been carried into effect.[1]

The dimensions of this church are 182 ft. each way, which, though not large, are sufficient for architectural effect when properly used, and are very considerable for a Russian place of worship, if measured by the standard of the Middle Ages.



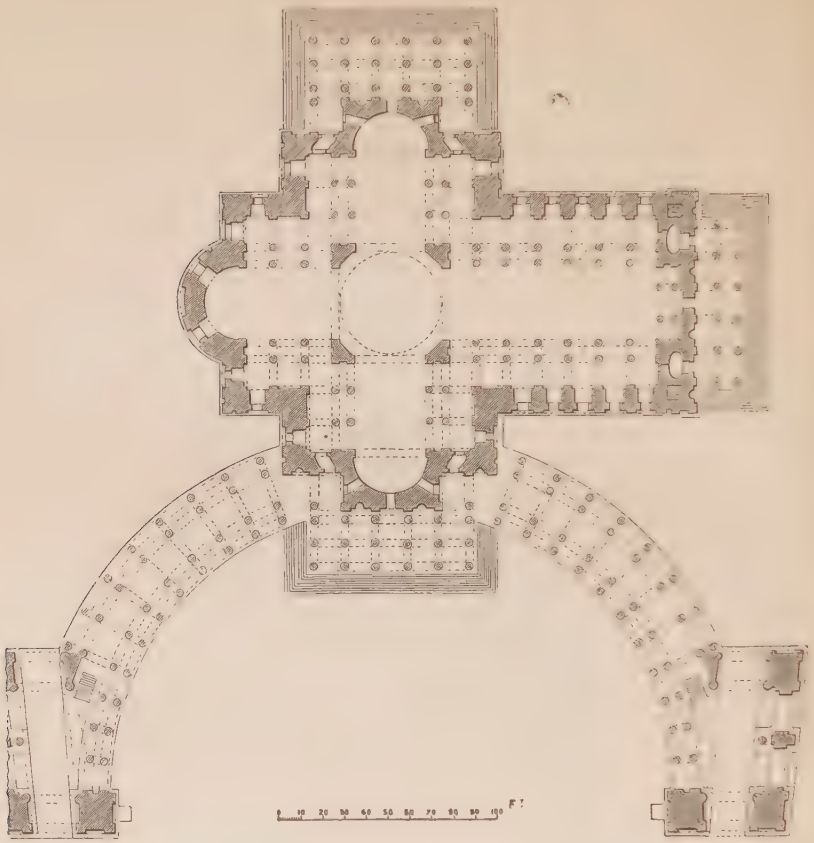
258. Plan of the Church of St. Nicholas, St. Petersburgh.

Till the completion of the great church of St. Isaac's, a few years ago, that of Our Lady of Kasan was the principal—in fact, the cathedral—church of St. Petersburgh. It was erected, or rather completed, in gratitude for the Russian victories from 1812 to 1814, and by a native architect, Varonikin.

The suggestion of the design is taken from St. Peter's at Rome, with its circular colonnade; but the idea is here used with so much freedom, and the whole construction of the plan shows so much novelty, as to entitle its author to great credit for originality. Altogether there is perhaps no finer conception for a church—standing a little back, as this one does, on one side of a street—than a grand semicircular colonnade, stretching its arms forward as if to invite the votaries, and showing in its centre the well-proportioned dome that crowns its intersection; while the nave and choir are revealed, though scarcely seen, between the interstices of the intercolumniations. The church, too, is sufficiently large, being 258 ft. long over all externally, and 248 in width, the dome being 63 ft. in diameter, and 200 ft. high externally.

With all these elements of beauty, however, the effect is very considerably spoilt by the indifferent details, both internally and externally. The Corinthian columns are lanky and wire-drawn, the entablature lean, and the ornaments badly designed and worse executed. It was also a solecism to make the pillars of the colonnade the same in design and dimensions with those of the porticoes of the

[1] Its outline, in plan, is that suggested for the original design of St. Paul's (Woodcut No. 173), and is singularly happy, giving both strength and variety.

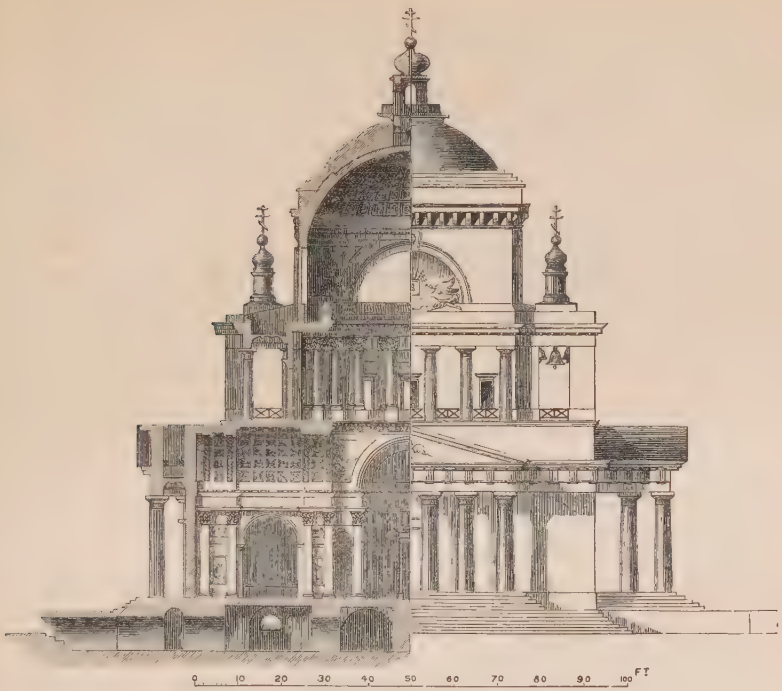


259. Plan of the Church of Our Lady of Kasan, St. Petersburgh.

church. Even if it was determined they should be of the same Order, which would have been of doubtful propriety, they ought certainly to have been subordinated in some way or other. As they now stand, they are a mere screen to hide, instead of a porch to dignify, the church to which they are attached. Notwithstanding all these defects, Our Lady of Kasan is a very noble church, and its semicircular portico a feature well worthy of imitation.

Besides these there are several smaller churches in the city, some of which show considerable ingenuity in adapting the Classical style to the square forms of the pure Greek Church; for either the building must be low externally, if it is to have a pleasing proportion in the interior, or the requisite height for external effect must be attained either by a sham dome above the true roof, or by making the interior so high as to be out of all proportion.

One of these churches, dedicated to St. Catherine, is very similar



260. Half Section, half Elevation, of the Church called du Rite Grec, St. Petersburgh.

to Schinkel's church at Potsdam, described in page 202, but the portico is larger in proportion to the mass, and, consequently, far more pleasing, and the dome, also, is better designed. Internally its height is too great, being 120 ft., the whole area of the church externally being only 108 ft. by 150; but it is on the whole a very simple and pleasing design.

The Church Zamienie is a square of 126 ft. each way, with a recessed portico of two pillars *in antis* on three of its faces, and the whole is simply and elegantly designed; while, its height externally being only 112 ft., its interior is not sacrificed to external effect.

There is a third and more elegant church, known as that of the "Greeks," or of the Rite Grec (Woodcut No. 260), which is more elaborate than either of these, and, if its base had been a little more spread, would have formed a pleasing model for a larger church, though here again the internal height is too great for its other dimensions.

Still, the mode in which the four angle towers are worked into the composition by the upper colonnades, and the bold manner in which light is introduced by four great semicircular windows immediately under the dome, are all features which might be employed in such

compositions with success, and show how easily the Russians might obtain beautiful churches in this style by only settling on some well-understood type, and being content to elaborate it, instead of rushing about looking for fresh models for every new building they propose to erect.

It is certainly to be regretted that some such system has not been adopted in reference to the designs for the great Church of St. Isaac; for, although it is one of the largest and most expensive churches in modern Europe—although the materials employed in its construction are unsurpassed for beauty and richness, and its situation is unrivalled, yet it must be confessed that the result is most unsatisfactory, and that half its advantages have been thrown away from the want of sufficient skill on the part of the architect to enable him to avail himself of them.

The site on which the Cathedral of St. Isaac stands seems from the first to have been destined to be occupied by the principal architectural monument of the city. It is a magnificent place, extending about 600 yards from the river's bank, with an average width of more than 200 yards; bounded, at the Quay, by the Admiralty on one hand and the Senate House on the other; while, at the spot where the church stands, the Riding School, with its beautiful portico, and on the other side the War Office, support it, without interfering with its architectural effect.

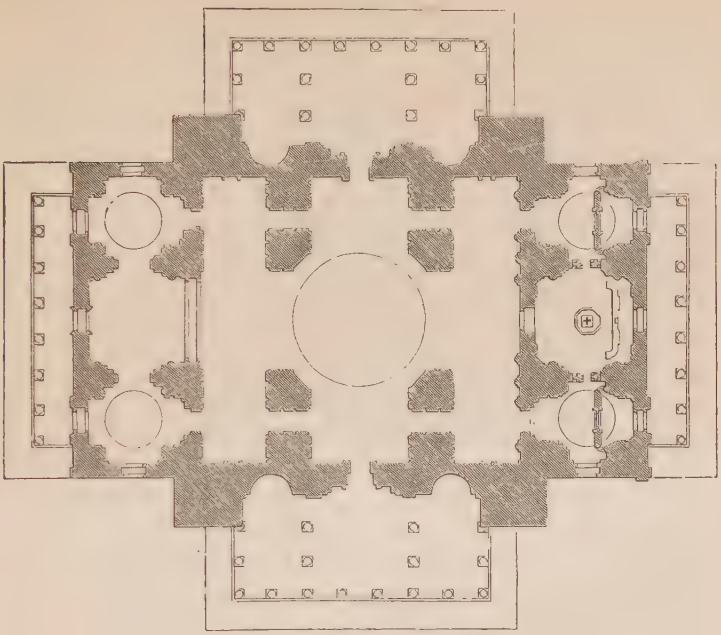
Three churches have already stood on this spot;—first, a wooden one, nearly coeval with the city. This was replaced by one designed by Renaldi, of great pretensions, commenced during the reign of the second Catherine; but, being left unfinished, was remodelled on a smaller and less expensive scale by the Emperor Paul, who completed and dedicated it to Divine worship.

The church thus erected was far from being commensurate with the dignity of the site, or of sufficient importance to be the cathedral of such a city as St. Petersburgh had become.

In consequence of this the Emperor Alexander determined on replacing it by a building which should not only be worthy of the situation, but should rival the finest churches of modern Europe in extent, and surpass them in richness of decoration.

After various attempts to procure satisfactory designs in other quarters, he at last, in the year 1818, confided its execution to a French architect, the Chevalier de Montferrand. He superintended its construction during the next forty years, lived to see it completed, and to assist in its dedication in 1858, though he died very shortly afterwards.

The church itself is a rectangle, measuring 305 ft. east and west, by 166 north and south; and, including the four great porticoes, covers an area, according to the architect's calculation, of 68,845 ft. It is



261. Plan of St. Isaac's Church, St. Petersburgh. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

therefore larger than the Pantheon at Paris (which contains 60,287 ft.), though considerably smaller than St. Paul's, which covers 84,025 ft. superficially.

Of its area 18,301 ft., or considerably more than one-fourth, is occupied by the points of support; so that, looked at from a constructive point of view, St. Isaac's stands lower than any other church in Europe, as will be seen by the following table, showing the number of feet in each 1000 of their area occupied in the churches specified by the points of support, this table being compiled by the architect himself:—

St. Isaac's	266 ft. in 1000	St. Paul's, London	170 ft. in 1000
St. Peter's, Rome	261 „ „	Milan Cathedral	161 „ „
Pantheon, Rome	232 „ „	St. Geneviève, Paris	154 „ „
St. Sophia, Constantinople	217 „ „	St. Sulpice, Paris	151 „ „
St. Maria, Florence	201 „ „	Notre Dame, Paris	140 „ „

And, as shown before,[1] many of the Gothic buildings come off as low as 100 ft. in 1000, or in other words only one-tenth of their area is occupied by the points of support. Thus a Gothic architect, with so large a portion of his building appropriated to open porticoes, would certainly not have consumed more than one-third of the materials used

[1] 'History of Architecture,' Introduction.



262. North-East View of St. Isaac's, St. Petersburgh.

here ; and even in the Italian style the experience of the best architects shows that one-half of the quantity ought to have sufficed. Looking at the unstable nature of his foundations, and the enormous expense incurred in securing them, economy of material, irrespective of expense, ought to have been especially studied in this instance. This want of constructive skill is, however, detrimental, not only in this respect, but, in consequence of it, the area internally is so crowded as to lose half its effect, while externally the building is heavy beyond all precedent.

The nature of the situation requires that the principal entrance should be lateral, as orientation, east and west, is more strongly insisted upon in the Greek Church than even in that of Northern Europe ; and, besides this, Alexander in confiding the design to the architect particularly insisted that the three chapels of Catherine's church, which had been consecrated, should be preserved. Nothing therefore could be better than the conception of placing here a noble Corinthian portico, copied almost literally, but with somewhat increased dimensions, from that of the Pantheon at Rome. Having done this, however,

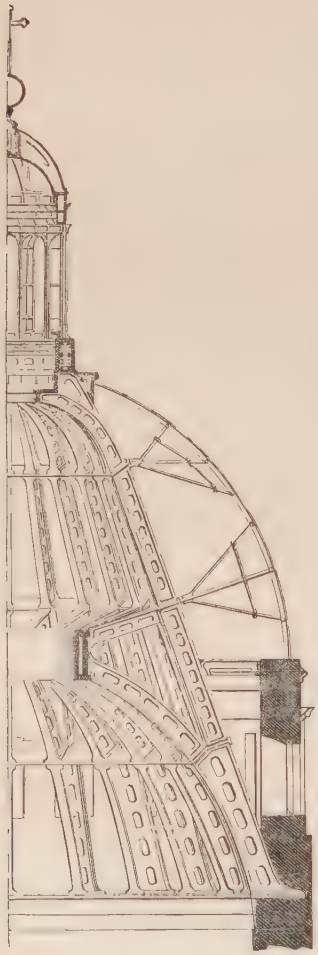
it was absurd to place an equally grand portico of sixteen columns on the opposite face, which, from its situation, must always be the back of the church. At all events, if this was done, it was indispensable that the western front, which is, and always must be, the principal entrance, should at least have one equally magnificent; instead of this, we find only a shallow porch of eight pillars. But the worst feature of the design is that a similar portico is placed at the east end, where there could not possibly be an entrance. This was the more gratuitous, as in order to do it the architect was obliged to remove the apse of the central chapel of the old church, and supply its place by a flat wall with a single window in it; thus not only destroying the effect internally, but at the same time taking away all the meaning of the design, as seen externally. Had he left the apse, and omitted his eastern portico altogether, the design would have been infinitely better; but the right thing to have done would have been to bend his colonnade round the apse, and thus give it a dignity commensurate with the lateral porticoes.

Forgetting for the moment the misapplication of these porticoes, they are by far the finest that have been erected since the time of the Romans. Each of the forty-eight columns which compose them is a single piece of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite, 56 ft. in height, and 6 ft. 6 in. in diameter. Those of the Pantheon at Rome are only 47 ft. 5 in. Of this length, however, 7 ft. is covered by the bronze capital, and 2 ft. 6 in. by a base, also of that metal, which reduces what can be seen of the height of the monolith to 45 ft. 6 in., which is still however considerably in excess of the shaft of the Roman example. The entablature, as indeed the whole building, is faced with marble; and internally the grand porticoes are roofed by a great arch in the centre and a flat roof over the lateral bays. All this is very noble; but the effect of these porticoes is painfully destroyed by an enormous double attic, half the height of the whole Order (71 ft.), placed there to hide the roof of the building, but which dwarfs the columnar ordinance to an extent hardly conceivable. There are many ways in which this could have been avoided. The proper one of course would have been to show the roof honestly, and render it ornamental, than which nothing could have been easier; but even if the attic had been broken into antæ, with openings between, so as to look like part of the roof, it would not have destroyed the effect of the porticoes as it now does.

The attic has the further defect of preventing the connection between the dome and the substructure of the church being seen. The dome seems to stand on the roof, or to be thrust through it; whereas, had the roof of the four porches been carried back to its square base, the whole would have been at once constructively intelligible.

The dome itself is very similar externally to that of the Pantheon

at Paris, except that in the peristyle considerable confusion arises from there being only twelve great openings behind twenty-four equidistant columns : and, as the windows are wider than the intercolumniations, the effect is not pleasing, especially as again there are twenty-four windows in the attic. But both these domes want the solidity and shadow which are given at St. Paul's by the introduction of the eight masses containing the staircases.



263. Half Section of the Dome of St. Isaac's, St. Petersburgh.

The pillars of the peristyle of the dome of St. Isaac's Church are monoliths of red granite, like those of the porticoes, but only 42 ft. in height, base and capital included, and of a less proportionate diameter.

The whole of the constructive parts of the dome, with the lantern which it supports, are of cast or wrought iron ; an expedient that seems justifiable in such a case, as it is one which, if properly used, might be made as durable as any equally lofty structure wholly of masonry could possibly be ; while there is great difficulty in constructing the curved part of a dome externally in stone in such a manner that it shall be stable and at the same time pleasing in outline. Unfortunately the iron-work here used shows as little constructive skill as the other parts of the building, throughout the whole of which there is a quantity of cast and wrought iron tying and bracing employed, which not only shows that the masses are badly poised in the first instance, but would ensure their destruction if the atmospheric influences should ever reach them.

A good deal of this might have been excusable if the architect had been attempting to erect a building as proportionately light as those of the Gothic age ; but as he was using more materials than have ever been employed since the days of the Egyptians, it indicates an unpardonable degree of unskilfulness on his part.

Besides the great dome there are the four cupolini, or bell-towers, which are usually found in Russian churches. These are unobjection-

able in design, and are each again adorned with eight monolithic columns, in this case 27 ft. in height. There is still a fourth Order of columns, adorning the four windows that admit light into the interior; but these are only 20 ft. high, including base and capital.

These windows form one of the great mistakes of the design. They are ordinary sash windows, such as are used in Domestic Architecture, and the eye inevitably guesses their width at 4 or 5 ft., their height at 8 or 10; and they form the scale according to which the whole church is measured. It requires an immense effort to realise the fact that they are really 10 ft. wide, and more than 30 ft. high, and that the little columns on brackets which support their entablatures are really grand monoliths 20 ft. high! Besides this, a building with only four windows,—the three beneath the eastern portico are not supposed to be seen or known,—cannot appear of large dimensions; and the mind inevitably brings it down to the scale of those other structures for which a similar number of openings would suffice.

As remarked above, the same dwarfing effect is produced in St. Peter's by the enormous size of the Order employed, the fewness of the parts, and gigantic character of the sculpture; but in that instance there is a multiplicity of detail and overcrowding of ornament which to a certain extent restores the equilibrium of dimension when the eye becomes familiar with it. St. Isaac's has nothing of the kind—it is only a small church magnified; and if erected on one-third or one-fourth the scale it now occupies, would have been a far more appropriate design. In fact, from whatever point of view it is looked at, it must be admitted that in no building, either ancient or modern, has so much been done to destroy in appearance the really noble proportions which it possesses.

Internally, the great nave is 43 ft. in width and 98 ft. high, being made up, first, of an Order 51 ft. high, crowned by an attic measuring 21 ft., and then the vault, which, being a little stilted, makes up 26 ft. The great dome measures only 71 ft., or in diameter internally little more than half that of St. Peter's or the cathedral at Florence; while St. Paul's measures 108 ft., and the Pantheon at Paris 65. But even these dimensions would suffice were it not that the whole floor of the building is so crowded with the masses of construction that there are no cross perspectives of any beauty, or poetry of any sort. It is as rich as malachite and marble combined with sculpture and painting can make it; no expense has been spared; but a little, even a very little, taste, or even a little constructive skill, would have been of more value than the whole of this magnificence. So far, indeed, has it been carried, that nothing saves the church from contempt but the grandeur of the materials of which it is composed; or from the charge of vulgarity and bad taste, except the literalness with which its parts

are borrowed from Roman examples, and the small number of them which make up the whole design.

It must always be a subject of infinite regret that so noble an enterprise as the erection of this church should have been intrusted to a man so little competent to the task as the Chevalier de Montferrand seems to have been. With so lavish an expenditure and such noble materials placed at his disposal, any man who had carefully studied the works of previous architects ought to have benefited by their experience ; and with a little common sense, even without genius, might have produced the most beautiful cathedral in Europe. As it is, a great opportunity has been lost, and, in spite of its splendour, St. Isaac's is at best a grand, but a cold and unsatisfactory failure. Not only is there less poetry, but there is less constructive skill shown in the design of this church than that of any other of the great domical churches of Europe. It is impossible to conceive a building carried out with less thought, or less appreciation of the beauties of the style in which the architect was called upon to design it.

It would be a fair morning's work for an architect of ordinary ability to sketch out the four façades of this great building ; and there certainly is not a week's thought in the whole design, from the pavement to the cross on the top of the dome. And he must be a greater genius than the world has yet seen whose passing thoughts are worth one thousandth part of the money that has been spent on them here. At the same time there is scarcely a single constructor of ordinary experience who would not have put together the materials placed at his disposal far more skilfully and economically than has been done by the Chevalier de Montferrand ; who, considering the opportunities, can perhaps lay claim to the unenviable distinction of having been the author of the greatest architectural failure in modern times.

CHAPTER II.

SECULAR.

There is no city in Europe which more truly deserves to be called a city of palaces than St. Petersburgh—not even excepting Paris; for though that city may be infinitely richer in architectural beauties, the true expression of Paris is more Civic and Domestic than Palatial; while St. Petersburgh not only contains some half-dozen of imperial residences, or palaces properly so called, but many of the residences of her grand-dukes and nobles are fairly entitled to that appellation; more than this, all her institutions and public establishments, down even to the barracks of the guards, are designed on a scale of magnificence not found elsewhere; and they are ornamented as only palaces are, in other cities. It is true that many—indeed most of these—are only of brick, with ornaments of stucco; and the meanness of material detracts most seriously from the grandeur of effect when looked closely into, but the general result is imposing; while so large a mass of important and ornamental buildings being collected together, gives to the city an air of grandeur not seen elsewhere; and, though the details may be cavilled at, the general effect is unquestionably grand and satisfactory.

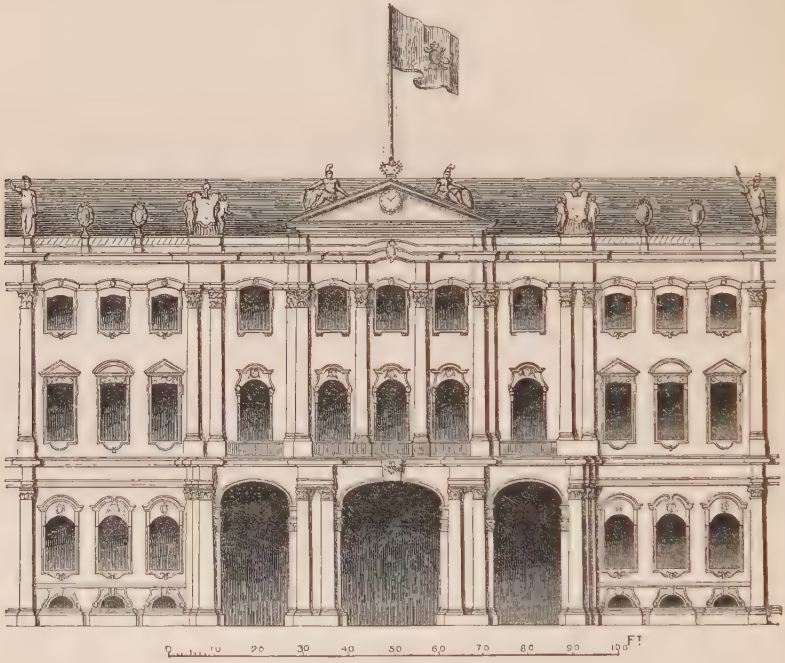
The principal palace of St. Petersburgh, as well as the oldest—for the residence of Peter the Great hardly deserves that name—is that known as the Winter Palace, built by the Empress Elizabeth from the designs of Rastrelli, and commenced in the year 1754. The two principal halls—that known as St. George's, and the White Hall—were added by Guarenghi, and the whole of the interior has been remodelled and refitted after the fire in 1837; which seems to have gutted the building, but unfortunately did not damage the outer walls to such an extent as to require their being pulled down, and the whole to be rebuilt from the foundations.

The principal façade, towards the river, measures 731 ft. in length; while the depth of the palace, north and south, is 584 ft., and it is thus considerably larger than the Louvre. Internally, it encloses a rectangular court of somewhat broken outline, but generally 385 ft. east and west by 300 ft. north and south; which is less

than that of the Louvre, in consequence of the buildings covering a much greater area of ground than in the Parisian example.

With these dimensions, in such a situation, and with the amount of ornament lavished upon it, this ought to have been one of the most beautiful palaces of Europe ; but the details are so painfully bad, that the effect is entirely thrown away ; and a man of taste recoils in horror from such a piece of barbarous magnificence.

The two upper storeys are adorned with an Order meant for Corinthian, but so badly drawn and profiled that it may be anything. The architrave is broken into a curve over every window, and the



264. Portion of the Façade of the Winter Palace, St. Petersburgh.

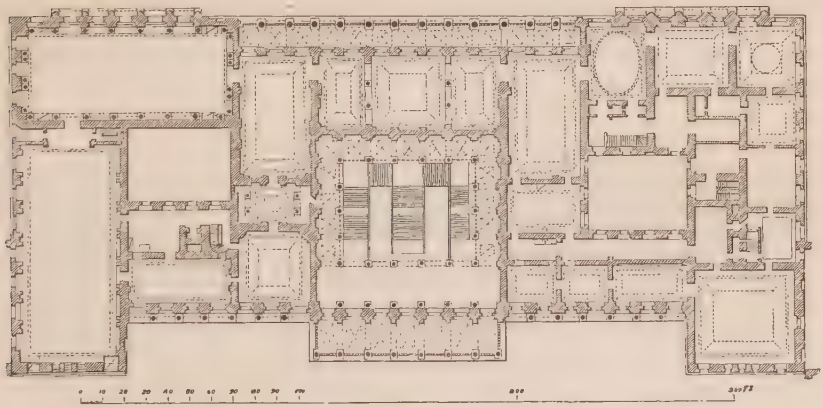
cornice is also treated in the same manner occasionally ; over this are pediments,—not connected with the cornice,—and the whole is crowned with vases, statues, and rococo ornaments of various sorts.

The basement has also an Order called Ionic, but, running through only one storey, is smaller of course than the other. Yet the large columns occasionally stand on the heads of the smaller, though occasionally, too, they avoid them in a manner which is almost ludicrous. Add to this that the dressings of the windows are of the most grotesque and gingerbread character, and it may be understood how bad the taste is which pervades this palace.

The palace of Zarco Zelo, about fifteen miles south of St. Peters-

burgh, on the road to Moscow, is another example of the same class. With a façade 858 ft. in extent, and nearly 70 ft. in height, most richly ornamented, it is difficult to understand how it should be so wholly detestable as it is; but with all its pretensions it can hardly be considered as more than a great barrack, decked out in the tawdry finery of the style of Louis XIV.

The palace of the Hermitage, built by a German of the name of Volckner for Catherine II., as an adjunct to the Winter Palace, certainly avoided most of the defects of its more ambitious neighbour, but rather erred by falling into the opposite extreme of tameness and commonplace. It is now, however, being pulled down to make way for the Palace des Beaux Arts, erecting from the designs of Klenze, referred to further on.



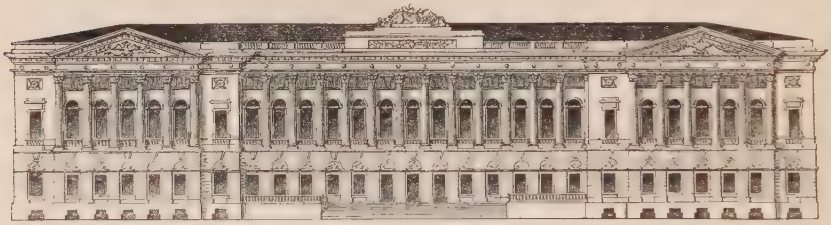
265. Plan of the Central Block of the Palace of the Grand Duke Michael, St. Petersburgh.

The Tauride Palace, erected by Volkoff, apparently in imitation of the Trianon at Versailles, is a great straggling one-storeyed building, with as little meaning, and without the elegance of its prototype. It is now deserted as an imperial residence; and the Palace of Paul I. is turned into an engineer's school, though really deserving a better fate. It is a square building 340 ft. by 378 ft., with an octagonal court in the centre; and great ingenuity is shown in the mode in which the external and internal lines are fitted to one another, giving the internal arrangements a degree of variety so seldom found in the ordinary rectangular palaces of Europe. Some of the rooms, too, are richly and even beautifully adorned; and the architecture of the whole, if not of the highest class, is at least pleasing and reasonable.

Though the Palace of the Archduke Michael cannot rival the Imperial Palace in extent, yet it is by far the most beautiful and elegant structure of its class in St. Petersburgh. It was commenced in the year 1820, from designs by the Italian, Rossi. By relegating

all the offices and domestic buildings to the wings, which cover a greater extent of surface than the main body, the palace acquires a stately and monumental appearance, sometimes seen in a club or edifice wholly devoted to festal purposes, but seldom found in a residence.

The central block, 364 ft. wide, with a depth of 168, and a height of 87 from the ground to the top of the pediment, is divided practically into two storeys: the lower, 22 ft. in height, elegantly and appropriately rusticated; the upper, ornamented with a very beautiful Corinthian Order, is 42 ft. in height. On the garden front the central colonnade of twelve pillars stands free, as in the Garde Meuble of the Place de la Concorde, Paris; but more beautiful than that, inasmuch as the basement is far better proportioned, and there is only one range of windows under them, while the wings are much more important in the northern example; and the columns in these, being semi-attached, give a solidity to the external parts that supports most effectively and pleasingly the more open design of the centre. Indeed, taken alto-



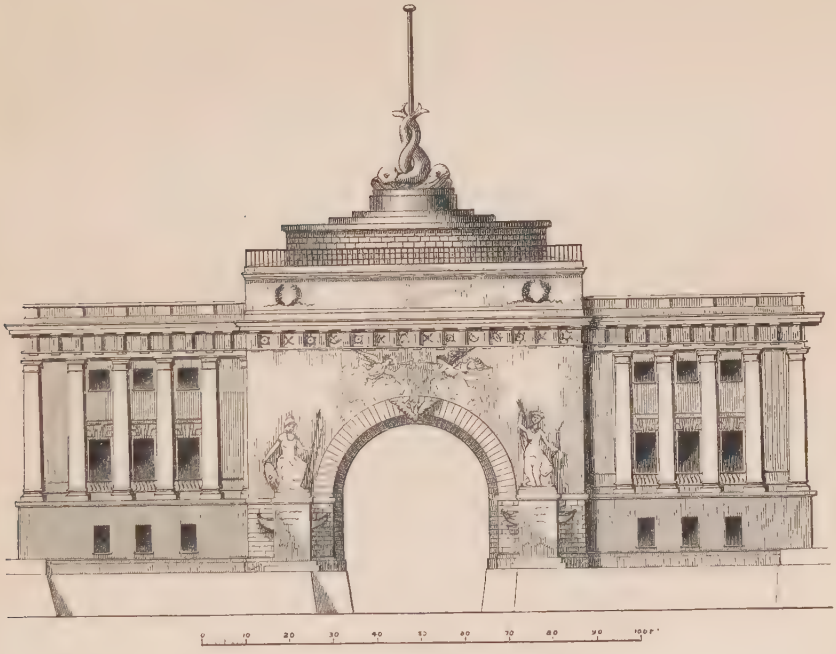
266. Elevation, Garden Front of the Palace of the Grand Duke Michael. Same Scale as Plan.

gether, the Michaeloffsky Palace may be considered as one of the most successful designs of its class in modern Europe. It may be a question if too much is not sacrificed to the Order, and whether a more subordinate employment of it would not have produced a better effect; but if employed at all, it is a great triumph to its designer to have used it so correctly and so successfully as he has done here. The internal arrangements of the palace are on a scale corresponding with the magnificence of the exterior. The entrance-hall, containing the great staircase, is a square apartment, 80 ft. each way, the whole height of the building, and leads to a suite of apartments not prosaically like one another, but, though varied in form and position, of equal and sustained magnificence.

As before remarked, it is singularly indicative of the purpose which Peter the Great had in view, that the Dockyard should occupy the very centre of the town, standing between the Palace and the Senate House; but still more singular that the talents of a Russian architect

should have been able to convert the utilitarian building of an arsenal into an architectural monument worthy of the prominent position this building occupies.

The principal façade of the "Admiralty," as it is improperly termed, measures 1330 ft.; the returns towards the river, 532; and the average height about 60 ft. It would not be easy to propose dimensions which it would be so difficult to treat without monotony, or without inappropriate littleness, as these; but the task has been performed with singular success by Zucharoff, the architect employed. The centre of the longer face is occupied by a square block, pierced by



267. Portion of the lateral Façade of the Admiralty, St. Petersburgh.

the central archway, but without pillars. It is surmounted by a square cupola—if such a term is admissible—crowned by a tall Russian spire reaching a height of 240 ft. On either side of the entrance, for a distance of 250 ft., the building is only two storeys high, and pierced with only eleven windows in each storey, of remarkably bold design. Beyond these are two wings, each composed of three bold Doric porticoes, the central one of twelve, and the two lateral ones of six columns each—the only defect of these being that there are two storeys of windows under each of these porticoes; and one cannot help regretting that the pillars were not used where the building was only two

storeys, and the portion three storeys high placed towards the centre, where a comparative weakness would not have been felt.

The returns are similar in composition to the longer face, and equally successful. The whole is so much of a piece, so bold, and so free from littleness or bad taste, that, for a building of its class, it may challenge comparison with anything existing in Europe, or indeed in the world.

On the other side of the Neva, opposite to the "Admiralty," stands the Bourse, which is also a successful design, though not to be compared with the other. It consists of a hall 157 ft. long by 82 ft. wide, lighted from the roof, and from a bold semicircular window at each end. Around this hall are arranged three storeys of chambers, devoted to the various purposes of the building. Round the outside is a peristyle of ten columns on the fronts, and fourteen on the flanks, counting those of the angle twice; but they do not reach the roof, or attempt to hide it; and on the whole, though similar in conception, and designed by a Frenchman (Thomond), the building is far better and more successful in every respect than the Paris Bourse; standing, as it does, on an angle between two rivers, it makes up, with its accompaniments, a very beautiful architectural group.

By far the greater number of the remaining buildings of St. Petersburgh are designed on the same principles as those on which we design Regent's Park Terraces, or Marinas at our seaside watering-places. They almost invariably have a basement storey, rusticated according to certain received patterns, and, above this, two storeys of equal dimensions, adorned with a portico in the centre, of six, eight, or twelve pillars standing on the basement, and running through the two upper storeys. On either side of this there is a plain space, broken only by windows, and at each end a portico similar to that in the centre, but having two pillars less in extent. Nothing can be easier than to design buildings according to this recipe, the result of which is undoubtedly imposing and effective at first sight; but no one ever returns to such a building a second time to try and read the thoughts of the architect who designed it, to imbue himself with his principles. No one ever dreams of revisiting these flat and monotonous masses at various periods of the day, or under different atmospheric changes, to study those effects of light and shade which render a truly thoughtful building an ever-varying scene of beauty—one the beholder never can be sure he has wholly seen, and regarding which he is never satisfied that he has mastered all the depths of thought which pervaded the setting of every stone.

Notwithstanding this it cannot be denied that such a building as the État Major is a noble and imposing pile. It is the joint production of Rossi and Guarenghi; and has an immense recessed amphitheatrical curve in its middle, in the centre of which is an archway

65 ft. in diameter, and 63 ft. in height. It extends more than 1200 ft., measured along the chord of the arc, and with a height of 76 ft. throughout; while it may be added that, though there is no very great amount of genius, there is also no symptom of vulgarity or bad taste in the design. With such dimensions as these, a building can hardly fail to be a grand and imposing pile; but the merit, such as it is, is due to the sovereign who ordered its erection, and not to the architect who designed it.

The same remarks apply to the Institution des Demoiselles Nobles by Guarenghi; that of Military Orphans; the Barracks of the "Chevalier Gardes;" and of the various corps of Guards and Cadets—all gigantic piles of brick and stucco, designed with a certain grandeur of conception, but executed with the most commonplace details; and, though all contributing to the magnificence of the city they adorn, none of them worthy of commendation as works of Art.

The Academy of Beaux Arts, designed by a Russian architect (Kokorin), is a square, 460 ft. by 406 ft., with the usual porticoed façade externally, but possessing internally a circular courtyard of considerable beauty. The Library, also by a Russian (Tokoloff), is an elegant building in the style of our Adams; but its most wonderful characteristic is that an edifice 252 ft. long, by 56 ft. wide, can be made to contain upwards of 400,000 volumes, besides a large collection of manuscripts, reading-rooms, &c. We could not put half that number into one of the same cubic contents.

Of the smaller buildings, perhaps the Medical School, by Porta, is the most elegant. Nowhere, except in the Archduke Michael's Palace, are the Orders used with such propriety.

The "Riding Houses" are a feature which, if not peculiar to Russian Architecture, have at least, owing to the peculiarities of the climate, been carried to a greater extent there than anywhere else. The great Riding House at Moscow was long famous all over Europe for the width of the span of its roof, and the mechanical ingenuity shown in its construction. The span of the original roof was to have been 235 ft.,[1] but it is very doubtful if it was ever attempted to carry it out, and a less ambitious design was afterwards adopted. Guarenghi's Riding House at St. Petersburgh is only 86 ft. span, and is more remarkable for a very beautiful Doric portico of eight columns at one end, and the general purity and elegance of the design of the whole, than for its mechanical ingenuity. That of the 2nd Corps of Cadets, by an architect of the name of Charlemagne, though rather according to the usual recipe, still, from being only one storey in height, is among the most pleasing façades in the capital.

[1] Five feet less than the span of the roof of the St. Pancras Station of the Midland Railway.

Besides the buildings just enumerated, the Bank, the Foreign Office, and the War Office, each possess some peculiarity of design, or some different arrangement of their pillars, which is more or less effective, but which it is almost impossible to explain without drawings; and none of them certainly are worthy of a place among the illustrations to be selected for such a work as this. They are, in fact, all of the same type of machine-made designs, displaying a certain amount of taste, and a certain appreciation of the beauties of Classical Art, but never rising to originality, and never displaying that amount of thought indispensable to adapt the ornaments to the essential features of the building to which they are applied; and without which, it need hardly be repeated, success in architectural design is nearly, if not wholly, impossible.

It is rather singular that among all the buildings of St. Petersburgh there is not one that can be called "astylar." Everywhere and in every one we find Corinthian, Ionic, or Doric columns, while there is scarcely a single instance where they are wanted, either for the construction or the convenience of the building to which they are attached; while, if in any city in the world their presence could be dispensed with, it is in one situated in such a latitude. In the climate of Russia a bold, plain, massive façade, depending on its breaks for its effect, and on the grouping and dressings of its openings for its ornament, would be infinitely more appropriate; and a bold, deep cornicione, in such a northern climate, at all seasons, would be the most artistic as well as the most appropriate termination to a façade.

It is strange that, where a style is so essentially imported and so exotic, no one ever thought of Florence or of Rome; and that Vicenza and Paris should alone have furnished to St. Petersburgh models of things which even these cities had only obtained at second hand.[1]

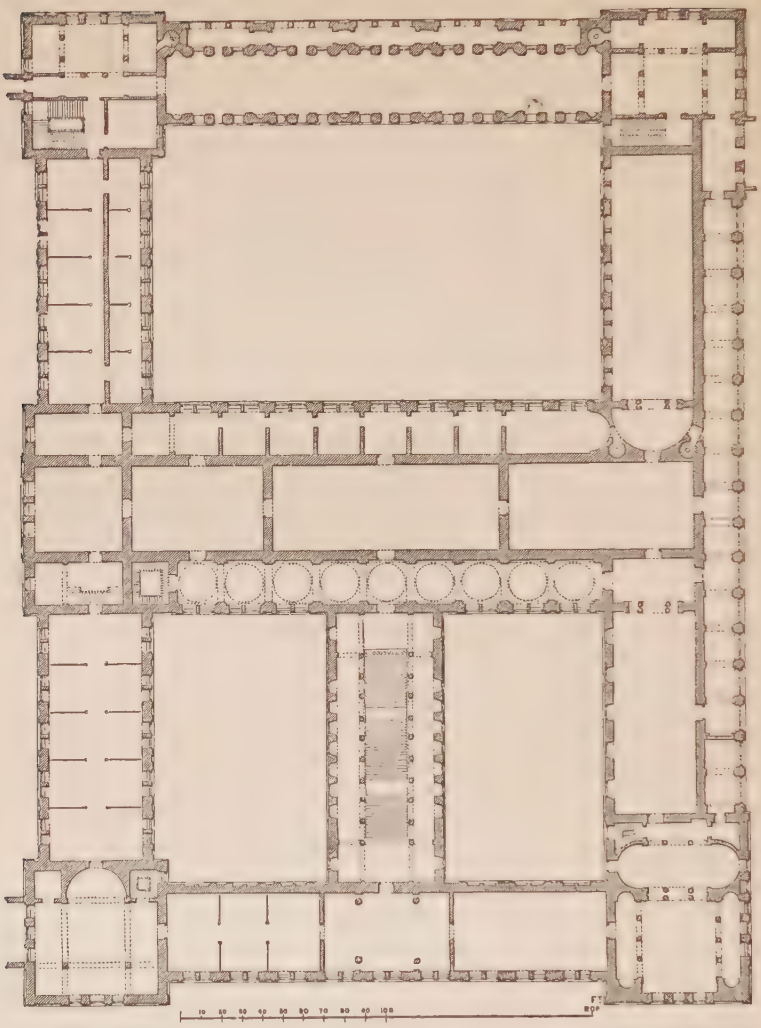
[1] I have been told by those who have seen them, that the suite of apartments destined for public festivities which have recently been erected in the new Palace of the Kremlin, at Moscow, surpasses anything of the same kind in Europe for splendour and extent. I have, however, been unable to obtain any drawings or dimensions that would enable me to judge how far this description is correct. In so far as the new palace can be judged of from photographs, it has, externally, no pretensions to architectural excellence of any sort.

CHAPTER III.

REVIVAL.

The new Museum of St. Petersburgh is the only important building which has yet been erected in Russia in the new Revival style of Architecture. It is of course by a foreigner; but this time no less a personage than the Baron Leo von Klenze of Munich. It seems that the Emperor Nicholas, in visiting that capital, in 1838, was so pleased with what had been done there that he invited the Baron to St. Petersburgh, and commissioned him to make designs for the new Palace of the Arts he proposed to substitute for the old Hermitage Galleries of Catherine II.

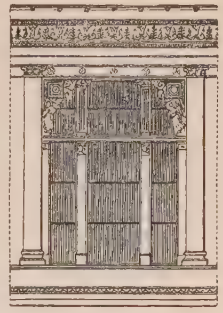
The site chosen was one of the finest in the city, on the banks of the Neva, adjoining the Winter Palace on the eastward. The building, which is now completed, measures 480 ft. from the river to the Million Street, and 350 ft. towards the river, divided internally into two courts by the picture gallery that runs across it. One of these courts is partially occupied by the grand staircase, the other is a void. Externally, each of the four faces differs somewhat in composition, though all treated with the same care. Where it has two storeys, it reaches 66 ft. in height; where three, it attains 84 ft. to the top of the balustrade or coping. In the centre of the longer faces the apex of the pediment is 98 ft. from the pavement. These dimensions are quite sufficient for architectural effect, and it must be added that the building is wholly free from those falsehoods of design which ruin so many fine structures, especially those of this capital. The basement is plain and solid, the Order confined to the principal storey, and above this is only an attic, ornamented with antæ and pilasters. Each storey is complete in itself, and throughout there is that exquisite finish and beauty of detail which characterises Greek Art, and which, within certain limits, the Munich architects have learned to apply with such dexterity. The faults of design arise from the trammels which the architect has thought it necessary to impose upon himself while designing in this style. The first is the painful want of projection in the cornices, and consequent flatness resulting from this defect; especially in a three-storeyed building, with an Order belonging to one only. Wherever the Greeks used pillars, they stood free, and,



263. Plan of the New Museum at St. Petersburgh. From Klenze's 'Description.'

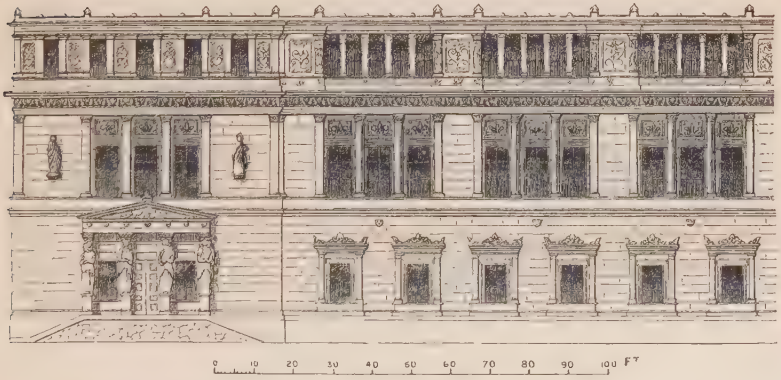
a shadow being obtained under the roof of the colonnade, a second was not required from the upper member of the entablature; but in modern Domestic Architecture the case is reversed, and if shadow is not obtained from the cornice it is found nowhere. Another equally absurd restriction is that the arch shall on no account be employed, though the Greeks did use arches, and with as much or more beauty than architraves. In this instance the architect was instructed to incorporate in his new building a copy of the Loggie of Raphael at Rome, which formed part of the old Hermitage. To effect this he

had recourse to bracketed openings, shown in Woodcut No. 269, which, to say the least, are affected and ungraceful, and their employment here a mere piece of pedantry. The most ornamental façade is—as it should be—that towards the river, where the effect, however, is very much marred by the glazed attic being brought forward to the front, and running without a break over the open Loggie and piers of the storey below. Either it ought to have been set back altogether to the wall behind the Loggie, or the colonnade ought to have been continuous and unbroken. Considering that this is the northern face, where shadow is everything, the best plan of treating it would have been to place a vase or statue over each pillar, and to break the attic back over each division. It must be confessed that the projections would have looked somewhat unmeaning, but that would have been of minor importance; and anything is preferable to a thin glazed attic with five openings over three, with a roof so thin as to puzzle one to find out how it is constructed, and absolutely no projection for shadow.



269. Pseudo-Arched Window, Museum at St. Petersburgh.

Internally, the picture gallery crossing the court is arranged like



270. Elevation of a portion of the River Front, New Museum, St. Petersburgh.

that at Munich—a great gallery in the centre—cabinets for small pictures on one side, and a corridor of communication on the other;—but this has additional meaning from the great staircase leading to it. The picture galleries are continued along the western face, and the whole is arranged, not only with great judgment and artistic effect, but also with regard to convenience.

Great complaints are made of want of light in some of the apartments; and it is easy to see that this must be the case, especially in

the basement. This would be otherwise if the building stood in sunny Greece; but it was unpardonable to forget that it was designed for the banks of the Neva.

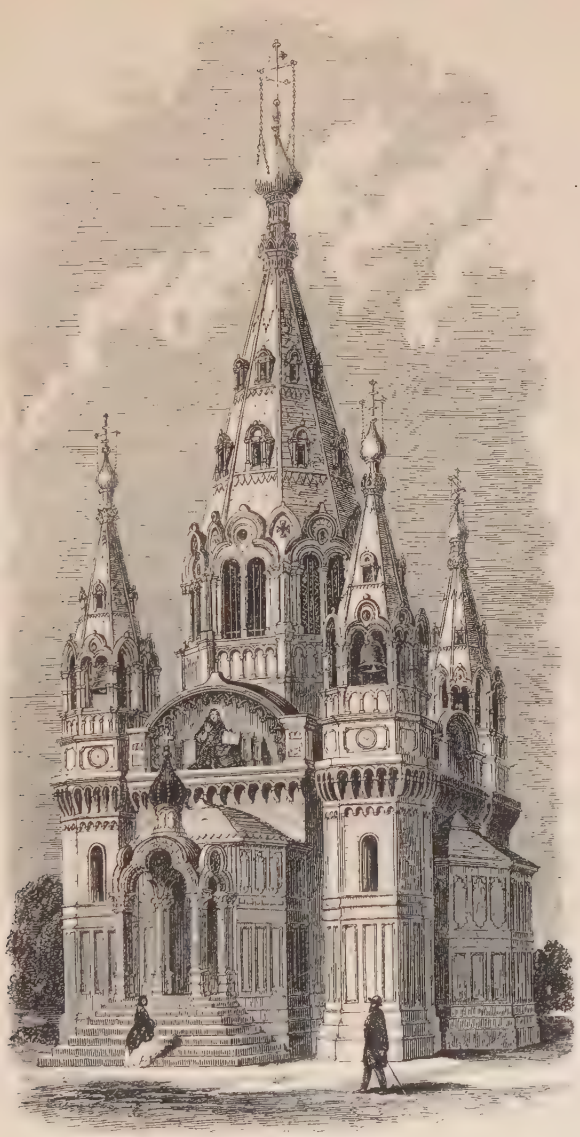
In spite of these defects, the new Museum is of all the buildings of St. Petersburgh the one which the artist will oftenest recur to, and from the study of which he is more likely to improve his taste than from any other in the capital. There is much in its design, in its arrangements, and in its details, which is very beautiful, and one can only regret that a little affectation and pedantry prevented it from being the really satisfactory building it otherwise might so easily have been made.

Besides this attempt to introduce the pure Grecian style on the banks of the Neva, the Russians have lately followed the example of other European nations in attempts to reproduce their Mediæval style for ecclesiastical purposes. Already one important church has been erected at Kieff, several in Moscow and at Novogorod, one at New Georgiesk, and even in St. Petersburgh this retrograde movement is rapidly becoming important. The architects have, in fact, reached that stage to which we had advanced before Pugin taught us the value of absolute falsehood; and although no one would now be deceived, and mistake a modern Muscovite church for an old one, there can be little doubt but that in the course of a few years they will be able to forge as perfectly as either English or French architects.

It is not, however, only at home that this movement is progressing, but wherever the Russians settle abroad they are proud to declare their distinctive nationality. Already at Wiesbaden they have built a church with its five bulbous domes and queer pendants over the doorways, so like the real thing that it would hardly catch the eye at Kieff or Moscow.

Recently, too, they have completed a still more ambitious edifice in Paris. When first a glimpse of it is caught from near the Arc de l'Etoile, it looks like the extravagant decoration of some Parisian Vauxhall; but when examined close, we are not astonished to learn that it has really cost the 52,000*l.* which are said to have been lavished upon it, nor if told that it is, to the Russian mind, a true example of the perfection of Ecclesiastical Architecture. This time the type has not been the usual five-domed church, but rather the exceptional Vasili Blanskenoy at Moscow.[1] As now seen in all the freshness of its staring colours and barbarous forms, it looks more like the pagoda of some Indian or Mexican tribe than the place of worship of a civilised people; and if the Russians really wish to impress Western Europe with an idea that they too have progressed like other nations, they

[1] 'History of Architecture,' Woodcut No. 914.



271. View of the New Russian Church, Paris. From a Photograph.

would do well to repress their Tartar feelings, and keep their Muscovite forms of Art for the sympathies and admiration of their own people.

Among the minor monuments of the Russian capital, the most remarkable is the pedestal of the statue of Peter the Great;—a single block of stone, weighing, it is said, 1500 tons, and which, with very slight aid

from the chisel, forms one of the best pedestals for a statue in the world. Its effect is, however, very much lost by being placed in so immense a space as that in which it now stands, and where there are no objects to give a true scale of its size. In a courtyard or smaller piazza of any sort, its dimensions would be ten times more effective.

Another monument of the same class is the monolithic column erected to the memory of the Emperor Alexander by his successor. It is the finest monolithic shaft erected in modern times, being rather more than 80 ft. in length, with a diameter of nearly 10 ft. The original length of the block when quarried was 102 ft., but the Chevalier de Montferrand cut off some 20 ft., not because it was either too long or too heavy to raise, but because without this abbreviation its proportions would not have been those of a correct Roman Doric shaft! Worthy of the architect of St. Isaac's! A man with a spark of originality or genius would have made it a polygon, or designed a capital to suit any diameter. There were fifty ways in which the difficulty could have been got over; but this noble monolith was truncated in deference to the proportion of pillars which the Romans had invented and used for totally different purposes.[1] Such rules also decide the fate of every modern building; and with such fetters as these the genius of modern artists is weighed to the dust.

It requires very little knowledge of the history of Architecture in modern times to feel assured that the Russians will never attain to anything great or good in Art by either of the processes by which they have hitherto attempted it. They never will create a style suitable to their wants by employing second-class foreign artists to repeat on the shores of the Neva designs only appropriate to those of the Seine or the Tiber. Still less are they likely to succeed by encouraging native aspirants to reproduce in all its details the style of the Middle Ages, though no doubt that has a certain degree of fitness, and is interesting from its archæological value. All the examples, however, are on so small a scale as hardly to come within the definition of architectural monuments; and the ornaments applied to them are so rude and so clumsy that not one is worthy of being repeated, still less of being magnified so as to make an old Russian chapel or its details suited to the extended wants of modern times.

There is still, however, one path that seems open to the Russian architects, and which, if followed steadily, might lead to the most satisfactory results. St. Sophia, at Constantinople, is practically the parent church of the Russian faith: and the interior of St. Sophia is

[1] Even as it now stands, it is said to have cost more than 400,000*l.*; and as it weighs about 400 tons, it cost nearly 1000*l.* per ton. The raising of the monolith and placing it upright was celebrated as a triumph of modern mechanical skill; it may therefore be mentioned that each of the tubes of the Menai Bridge weighed, as raised, about 2000 tons.

probably the most beautiful yet erected for the performance of the Christian ritual. With the experience we have since acquired, it could easily be improved, and a third or fourth edition of this church, on either a larger or smaller scale, but carried out with a well-defined aim of producing the best possible interior for a Christian church, might and ought to result in something more perfect and more beautiful than anything of its class the world has yet seen.[1] St. Sophia has another advantage for such a purpose,—it has no external decorative arrangements; and the architect is therefore left, in reproducing it, to apply whatever he thinks most elegant or most appropriate. It could easily be carried out with five domes externally, or any other more appropriate Russian peculiarity. There is, in fact, a new field of discovery in this direction that might lead to the happiest results, if the Russians are capable of availing themselves of it. They certainly have been following a totally mistaken path ever since the introduction of the Renaissance styles, with the most unsatisfactory results. It therefore remains for them to show whether this has been only a passing delusion, or whether they are really capable of anything more original or more artistic than has been formed by their works up to the present time.

[1] Even the Turks, in designing their mosques, have done wonders with this model: why should not the Russians be equally successful in applying its forms to their churches, for which they were originally invented?

CHAPTER IV.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN RUSSIA.

[The peculiar constitution of society in the vast Russian empire, and its unfavourable geographical position, do not yet admit of the advance of Art, even in the chief cities, on anything like a parallel line with its progress in the other important countries of Europe. Architecture in recent years has not assumed any novel attitude in St. Petersburgh or Moscow; fairly good Italian has been the rule for the greater works, and the local colour which has not unfrequently come to be introduced has been, as in previous times, nothing more than the assertion of a spirit of semi-Oriental magniloquence which is very natural in the circumstances. The spread of the new principle which is identified with the cultivation of popular Art has, however, reached Russia in a peculiar way, and is considered to be making satisfactory progress. The accomplished lady who shares the throne of Alexander the Third is said to have been the promoter of the change. Having been trained in Art by her father—who, before he became King of Denmark, was a professional artist—the Empress has been able to see, and to persuade her Consort, that the social and indeed political value of the artistic life of a nation is no small matter; and during the last twenty years, accordingly, the Imperial pair have devoted a fair share of their leisure and their private means to the accumulation of museums of academical and industrial art, which already almost fill the various palaces at their command. Schools of Decorative Art have also been established; and very recently a patriotic connoisseur has manifested his enlightened liberality by bequeathing, for the special purpose of promoting industrial craftsmanship in the Empire, the munificent sum of a million in English money, which, it is understood, will to some extent be devoted to the establishment of a central school of the Decorative Arts, whereby to combine together the provincial schools and museums for properly organised operations. A new Society of Artists has also been recently founded under the patronage of the Czar and Czarina, which, although it may be discouraged by the old-fashioned Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburgh, will probably effect much good, especially as it not only takes up liberal ground generally, but exerts itself in the special direction

of promoting roving exhibitions for the benefit of the provincial towns. All this, if correctly reported, may be considered to constitute a particularly interesting illustration of the influence of the movement of 1851, and of the incalculable value that may be attributed to the civilising influence of popular art. Even in the frost-bound North the artist will be a king when the soldier's occupation's gone.—Ed.]

BOOK VIII.

INDIA AND TURKEY.

INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

There is perhaps no circumstance connected with the history of the Renaissance styles of Architecture so remarkable as the universality of their extension, for not only have they conquered and retained possession of Europe for the last three centuries, but they have now attained to undisputed sway on the Bosphorus, have nearly obliterated all the native styles of India, and may eventually extend into China and Japan. In addition to their Eastern conquests, the whole of the New World naturally fell under their sway; for, as there was not in these countries any original style to displace, the European colonists introduced, as a matter of course, the forms of Art they were in the habit of employing in their own homes. So complete, indeed, has this extension been, that, if we except the yet uninfluenced countries of China and Japan, it is not, perhaps, too much to assert that nine-tenths of the civilised inhabitants of the globe employ those styles of Architecture which were revived in Europe in the fifteenth century, or styles growing out of these, but carried out on the mistaken principles first introduced at that period.

In the previous chapters of this volume the steps have been traced by which Italy, France, Spain, and England were gradually induced to adopt this fashion of Art; it has been shown how it penetrated into Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia; and it has also been attempted to elucidate the causes which led to this strange revolution in the arts of design. It will not be necessary again to allude to these investigations in order to explain the reasons or the mode of its introduction in the East, as these are simple in the extreme, and lie on the surface; the one great cause being the influence of a dominant race, and the

natural desire on the part of the subject people to imitate the manners and adopt the arts of the conquering strangers. It is so natural that this should be the case, that it is hardly necessary to insist more fully upon the point. But it requires some knowledge of the unsympathising intolerance which the Spaniards and the Portuguese possess in common with the Anglo-Saxon races, to understand why they should insist on carrying with them wherever they go the habits and customs of other and uncongenial climes; and it is also indispensable to bear in mind how little real sympathy any of these colonising races had with Art in any of its forms, in order to appreciate the contempt in which they have always held the arts of the conquered people, and the destruction of all that is beautiful which has followed their footsteps wherever they have gone.

With the knowledge we possess of the tastes of our countrymen, it is no matter of wonder that they should have carried with them their great principle of getting the greatest possible amount of accommodation at the least possible expense—though at first sight it does appear strange, that people so sensitively alive as the Eastern nations have shown themselves to all the refinements of Art, should at once have abandoned their own, to follow our fashions. When, however, we find the surtout-coat and tight-fitting garments of the West in possession of the streets of Constantinople, superseding their own beautiful costume, we ought not to be surprised at the "Orders" being introduced simultaneously: and when native princes in India clothed their armies so as to make them caricatures of European infantry, it was impossible that they should escape the architectural contagion also. It may be sad, but it is only too true, that wherever the round hat of the European is seen, there the "Orders" follow eventually, though, for some climates and for some purposes, the one is just as ungraceful and unsuitable as the other.

Had the French ever colonised the East, their artistic instincts might have led to a different result; but as the inartistic races of mankind seem the only people capable of colonisation, we must be content with the facts as they stand, and can only record the progress of the flood-tide of bad Art as we find it.

CHAPTER I.

THE PORTUGUESE.

In the year 1497,[1] the Portuguese, under Vasco de Gama, first passed the Cape of Good Hope, and the following season landed at Calicut, in Malabar. In 1510, Albuquerque besieged and took Goa, and established it as the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India. For more than a century it continued to be the principal seat of their power, and became, in consequence, the most important and most prosperous of the European cities of the East. During this period it was visited and rendered illustrious by the teaching of St. Francis Xavier, one of the noblest and most devoted apostles of the Gospel in the East. It was also during this period of prosperity that those churches and convents were erected which now alone remain to mark the site of the deserted city, and entitle it to notice in a history of Architecture.

Either in consequence of the increased size of the vessels used at the present day, or because of the silting-up of the river in front of the town, the seat of Government was moved more than a century ago to Panjim, lower down the river, and the old capital left in its present state of desolation. It is still, however, the nominal seat of the bishop and the religious capital of Portuguese India, and its churches are still kept in a tolerable state of repair, though the town does not possess a single secular habitation beyond the wretched huts of a few native settlers.

Of the churches, five are of the first class—buildings from 300 to 400 ft. in length, with naves 45 and 50 ft. wide, and with aisles, transepts, and all the accompaniments to be found in Cinquecento cathedrals of important cities in Europe; but, without any exception, they are in a style of Art entirely destructive of any effect they might produce, either from their dimensions or the materials of which they are composed. The Portuguese, it appears, brought no architects with them to India, and the priests, to whom the superintendence of these buildings seems to have been intrusted, were probably better versed in the Legenda Aurea than in the works of Vitruvius—at least,

[1] Five years after the fall of Granada.

their ignorance of the Orders, and of the principles of Classic design, produced the most wonderful effects, and certainly not with a tendency towards either purity or beauty. To this we must add, that the material is the coarse laterite rock on which they stand, and necessarily covered with plaster; all the details have been moulded by native artificers, more ignorant, of course, than their employers; while three centuries of white and yellow wash have long ago obliterated any sharpness or cleverness of execution they may once have possessed. It will be easily understood that, from all these causes combined, a result has been produced as tasteless and as unsatisfactory as can well be conceived.

Perhaps the church in Europe most like those at Goa is that of St. Michael, at Munich (Woodcut No. 221). They possess the same vastness and the same air of grandeur, but the same painful jumble of ill-designed details and incongruous parts which mar the effect of that otherwise noble church.

The cloisters attached to these churches are generally more pleasing objects. An arcaded court, in a hot climate, must be very defective in design if it fails altogether in architectural effect; and some of those at Goa are really rich in ornament, being copied from such arcades as those of the Lupiana, for instance (Woodcut No. 89); but they, too, have lost much of their original effect from the repeated coats of whitewash with which they have been covered.

The smaller churches, the Arsenal, and some remains of public buildings now deserted, which still exist in Goa, all show the same total want of artistic treatment which marks the design of the greater churches. By what practically amounts almost to a *reductio ad absurdum*, they prove the difficulty of producing a satisfactory design in this style without a rigid adherence to the original types, or without a knowledge of constructive propriety, and an elegance of taste, which are not to be looked for among the amateur architects of remote colonies.

At Macao, which only fell into the hands of the Portuguese in 1586, they showed even less taste than at Goa. The former city never was so rich or so important as the latter, and never acquired any religious sanctity. Its only really important architectural feature is the façade of the Jesuits' church. The design for this was evidently procured from Europe, and is characterised by the exuberant richness of detail which that society have always displayed in their churches; but in this instance the taste of the whole design is better and purer than usual, and the effect is considerably heightened by the whole being executed in granite, with a neatness and precision which only the Chinese are capable of attaining. It is now in ruins, and the sombre grey tint that pervades the whole, combined with the singularity of finding such a façade in such a locality, renders it one of the

most pleasing fragments of Church Architecture in the East ; and it is the only building in Macao of its class that is worthy of minute notice in an architectural point of view.

At Bombay nothing remained of the Portuguese but the fortifications, which have recently been pulled down ; nor have any buildings survived at Demaun or Calicut which are worthy of notice. From the few specimens of Art with which they have adorned their own country, in Europe, this should not excite surprise ; on the contrary, the wonder is that they should have done so much as we find at Goa, rather than that they should have done it so badly ; and we might have expected to find even fewer buildings in the remote factories which they occupied during the brief period of their dominant career in the East.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANIARDS, DUTCH, AND FRENCH.

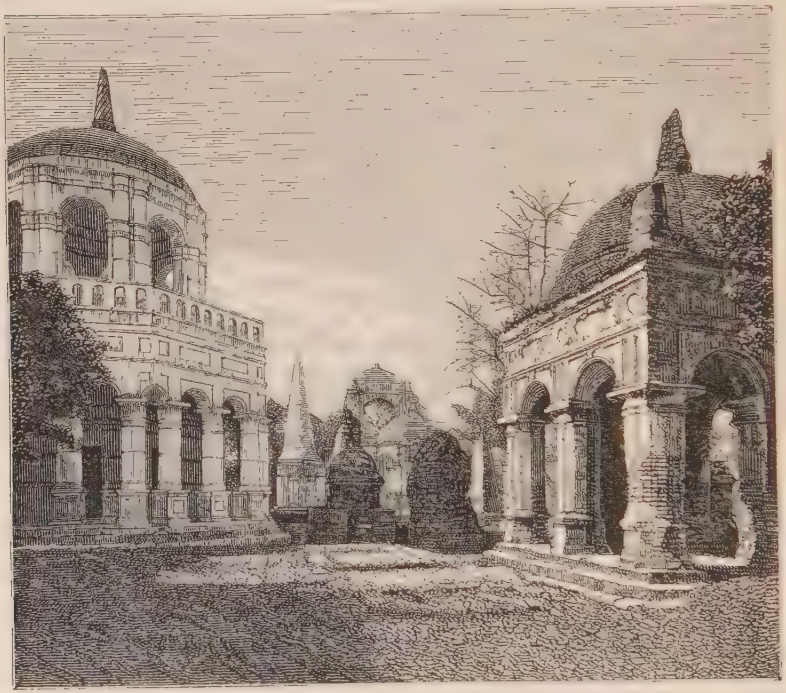
The Spaniards have done far less, in an architectural sense, at Manilla than even the Portuguese at Macao, and, as might be expected, the Dutch have done very little in their settlements. Their churches, which are few and far between, are of the worst class of meeting-house architecture, and Batavia does not contain one single civil edifice of any architectural importance.

The only exception I know to these somewhat sweeping assertions is curious and characteristic. The earlier settlers in India felt themselves so completely expatriated and cut off from intercourse with Europe, that they adopted many of the habits and feelings of the people among whom they were dwelling. Among other peculiarities they seem to have been seized with a mania for sepulchral magnificence ; and at Ahmedabad, Surat, and other early settlements on the West Coast, we find Dutch and English tombs of the 17th century which rival in dimensions and are similar in form to those of the Mahommedan princes of the day. It is true, when closely looked into, their details will not bear examination. Their builders had a notion that pillars should be round, and arches circular, and a hazy reminiscence of the Orders ; but they could not draw them, and the natives could not realise what was wanted from imperfect verbal instructions. The consequence is, we find domes supported on twelve pillars of no style whatever, and native details mixed with something which has no name, in a manner that is perplexing, though often picturesque. Being all in brickwork and stucco, most of them are now falling to ruin ; but Sir George Oxenden's (died 1668) is still kept in repair, and would make a sensation in Kensal Green ; but some of the others, especially the older ones, are in better taste, and approach more nearly the native models from which they were all more or less copied.

Europeans were then a small and dependent community, and were content to copy the manners and arts of the natives, who were then superior in rank and in power. The process has been since then entirely reversed ; we are now in the position of the rulers of India in

those days, and the natives have unfortunately taken to copying us and our arts, as we adopted their habits and copied their arts when we first settled in their country.

The French probably would have done better than the other colonists, if their dominion had lasted longer and been more stable; but they never have been fairly settled in India so as to allow of any real development of their taste. Still, Chandernagore was, or was to have been, adorned with handsome public edifices, which, however, do not now exist; and though Pondicherry is one of the neatest



272. Dutch Tombs, Surat—Sir Geo. Oxenden's on the left. From a Photograph.

and best laid out cities in India, it has no important public buildings, and, except the citadel (now destroyed), never seems to have had any. Church-building was not, of course, a luxury they were likely to indulge in, and, consequently, in none of their settlements are there any ecclesiastical edifices worthy of mention.

The one point in common between these three nations and the Portuguese was that, when fairly settled as communities, wherever and whatever they built was in the so-called Italian style, excepting, of course, the early tombs just alluded to. All the windows and doors of their buildings have the usual dressing and pediments; and where-

ever a pillar is introduced, it was copied, or supposed to be, from Vignola, or some Italian text-work. Through their influence, the Orders became so far naturalised that they have been adopted everywhere—as we shall presently see—by the nations in all those countries in which Europeans have settled, to the almost entire supersession of the native styles of Art.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH.

Owing to the greater extent of their dominion, and its longer duration, the English have built more in India than all the other European nations together; and, probably owing to the late period at which most of their buildings have been executed, it may perhaps be said that they have built better; but till after the first decade of this century their style was the same as that of the other nations mentioned above. About thirty years ago the Anglo-Indians passed through the Grecian-Doric style of Art. During its continuance a Town-hall was erected at Bombay, a Mint at Calcutta, a Palace at Morshedabad, and sundry smaller edifices in various parts of the country. In all these an enormous number of correct Doric pillars, copied from Stuart's 'Athens,' were built up as mere ornaments, and generally so as to obstruct ventilation, without keeping out the heat, and arranged in such a manner as to be as unlike a truly Grecian design as was possible with such correct details.

Since that time the Gothic stage has been attained. It commenced with the Calcutta Cathedral, built in the Strawberry Hill form of Gothic Art, and is now being introduced in churches all over the land; but these last are generally merely correct copies of parish churches in this country, and as such totally unsuited to the climate.

If used with freedom and taste, no style might be better adapted for Indian use than Gothic; but in order to apply it there, the aisles of a church must be placed outside, the tracery must be double and fitted with Venetians, and various changes in arrangement must be made which unfortunately the purist cannot tolerate, and the consequence is, they are worse off for a style of church-building now than before the introduction of the Gothic style.

The fact is, the Anglo-Indians have compressed into fifty years the experience we have spread over two centuries; but they do not show more symptoms of approaching the common-sense stage of Art than has hitherto been apparent in the mother country, though Architecture (especially its domestic form) is so vitally important an element of existence in that climate, that, if they once make the discovery that common sense, guided by taste, is really the foundation of Architec-

ural Art, it is possible that we may again be taught many things, as we have been before, by the tasteful wisdom of the far East.

Calcutta.

The Government House at Calcutta is the principal edifice erected by the English in India during the first period indicated above. The idea of the design was copied from Keddlestone (Woodcut No. 192), and was a singularly happy one for the purpose. It consists of four detached portions appropriated to the private apartments, and joined by semicircular galleries to the central mass containing the state-rooms of the Palace—an arrangement combining convenience with perfect ventilation, and capable of being treated with very considerable architectural effect; all which has been fairly taken advantage of. The principal defect (as it now stands) is that of being too low; but it must be borne in mind that when erected it stood alone, and the tall houses around, which dwarf it now, were all erected since. Its effect is also marred by the solecism of the Order running through two storeys, while standing on a low basement. If this might be tolerated in the centre, under the dome, it was inexcusable in the wings, where it throws an air of falsity and straining after effect over what otherwise would be a very truthful design; but, taken altogether, there are few modern palaces of its class either more appropriate in design, or more effective in their architectural arrangement and play of light and shade, than this residence of the Governor-General of India.

The Town-hall, situated near the Government House, is a building imposing from its mass and the simplicity of its outline, but is too commonplace in its design to produce the effect due to its other qualities. It contains two great halls, ranged one over the other, each lighted by a range of side windows; and then, by the usual expedient of a Doric portico in the middle of each front, running through the two storeys, tries to look like a grand edifice without any floor in its centre.

Of late years several very important public buildings have been erected in Calcutta, such as the Martinière, the Metcalfe Hall, the Colleges, &c.; but they are all according to the usual recipe of English public buildings—a portico of six or eight columns in the centre running through the two or three storeys as the case may be; a lesser one on each end; and a plain curtain with ranges of unadorned windows, connecting the larger with the lesser porticoes. Nothing can well be more unsuited to the climate, or more commonplace in design; but it is the misfortune of Calcutta that her Architecture is done by amateurs—generally military engineers—who have never thought of the subject till called upon to act, and who fancy that a few hours' thought and a couple of days' drawing is sufficient to elaborate an

important architectural design. It is scarcely necessary to add any criticism on the result; for nothing either great or good was ever yet produced without far more labour and thought than have been expended on these erections.

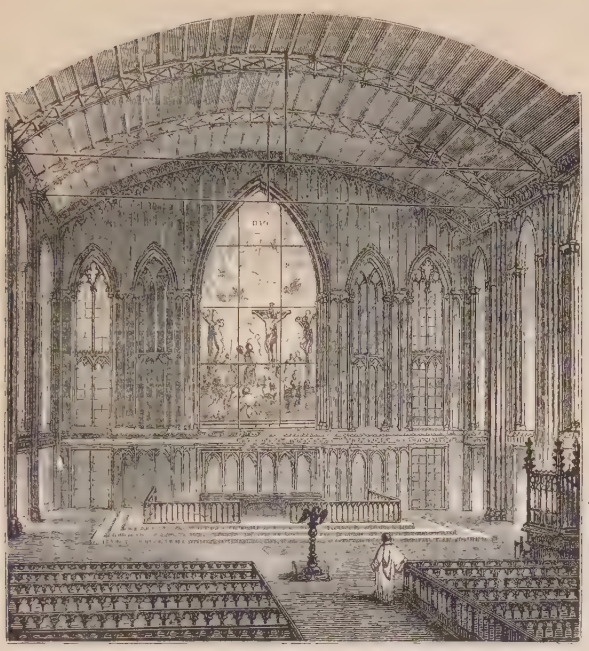
The churches in Calcutta are not more satisfactory than the other public buildings, except that the older examples, having no pretensions to being other than they are, please, in consequence, to the extent to which their dimensions and their ornamentation entitle them. They are merely square halls, sometimes with ranges of pillars in their centre to support the roof, where the span is such as to require their



273. Exterior View of the Cathedral at Calcutta. From Bishop Wilson's 'Life.'

introduction, and with pillared porticoes outside to protect their walls and windows from the sun, and they generally have steeples of the form usually adopted in this country in the last century.

The late Bishop Wilson was the first to intimate discontent with this state of things, and he determined, like some of his English brethren, to wipe the stain of Paganism from the Architecture of the Church. He determined therefore to erect a proper Gothic Cathedral in the metropolitan city. To carry this out, he chose as his architect the late Colonel Forbes, of the Bengal Engineers, a man of infinite talent, but who, like all his brother officers, fancied that Architecture



271. Interior View of the Cathedral at Calcutta. From Bishop Wilson's 'Life.'

was the simplest and most easily learnt of the Arts, instead of being one of the most difficult, and requiring the longest and most exclusive study.[1] As it was, the Bishop shared his delusion in this respect, and they produced between them a building in a style such as has not been seen in this country since the Peace of Paris.

The Cathedral consists of a large square hall without aisles or

[1] Every one knows the story of the hostess of an evening musical party who, in despair at the absence of her "primo flauto," turned to one of her guests, and asked him if he could play on the German flute: to which he replied that, never having tried, he did not know, but had no objection to make the attempt now if they would bring him an instrument. This appears ridiculous, but it is not half so much so as attempting Architecture without long previous training. Any man with a good ear may teach himself music, or, with a special feeling for colour or form, may acquire considerable proficiency in drawing or painting. What is principally required for music, painting, or sculpture, is an innate æsthetic faculty. The architect must possess this also, but in addition to this he must be a mathematician and a mechanic, he must possess a knowledge of construction and materials, he must know how most conveniently to provide for the purposes of his buildings, and how also to express them most artistically. He must, in short, have all the æsthetic feelings required for the exercise of other arts, but, in addition to this, a great deal more which cannot be acquired by intuition, but must be the result of a life-long study. More than this, he must know how to combine the technic with the æsthetic elements of his design without giving undue predominance to either. Is all this easy?

transepts. The roof is flat (or rather was, for it has been somewhat altered since), and supported by a diagonally-trussed beam, such as we use in railway stations. At one end is a porch called a narthex, but which, in fact, is a library; and between it and the church a steeple of very commonplace design rises through the roof.

The only ornament of the exterior is a range of lean buttresses, between which were tall windows filled with wooden tracery of the Perpendicular Order; but these, instead of painted glass, are disfigured with green painted Louvre boards to keep out the sun. We have done strange things in this country, but nothing quite so bad as that. It entirely fails as a Gothic reproduction; for, as we perfectly understand now, a few ill-drawn Gothic details are not in themselves sufficient to entitle a building to be ranked among the revivals of Mediæval Art. The worst feature, however, is that of being entirely unsuited to the climate, having neither verandahs for shade, nor proper windows for ventilation; nor do its arrangements satisfy any of the requirements of the ecclesiologist of the present day.

The Fort Church is a better specimen of the art, but it is only a copy of the chapel in York Place, Edinburgh, and that is a copy from St. Mary's, Beverley; and though it has deteriorated at each remove, and the details of the Calcutta Church would shock our present critical eyes, it was, at the time it was built, the best thing of its class that had been done in India.

As mentioned above, several station churches have recently been erected, which might pass for English parish churches when seen at a distance; but no architect has approached the problem of designing a church specially suited to the climate, though the freedom from trammels, and the immense variety of details in Gothic Art, lend themselves most easily to such a purpose in that climate.

In so far as the system of ornamented construction is concerned, the Saracenic style is identical with the Gothic: both used pointed arches, clustered piers, vaulted roofs, and they claim other features in common. The most striking and specific difference is that the one uses domes where the other introduces spires; but as in most cases these features are merely external ornaments, there is no reason why the architects in both styles should not adhere to their own peculiar forms, while adopting, when expedient, the principles of the other.

As the Saracenic has been so completely adapted to the climate, there seems no reason why the Gothic should not be so also; but it must be by thinking, not by copying, that this can be effected. Nine-tenths of the mechanical arrangements of our churches were introduced to guard against cold and the roughness of the climate, leaving one-tenth for ventilation or to avoid over-heating. In India exactly the reverse is the case: nine-tenths must be specially designed to protect the congregation from the heat, and very little attention need be paid to

the danger of cold or storms. Seeing how perfectly the Saracenic style, which is so nearly identical, has met and conquered these difficulties, the same thing could now be done far more easily with the Gothic; but unfortunately it has not hitherto been looked at from this point of view, consequently none of our churches in India can be considered as even moderately successful. Instead of setting their minds earnestly to the task, the English have been content to carry with them into India the strange creed of their native country, "that Archæology is Architecture;" and when they have set up an accurate model of some old church which adorns some rural village in the Midland Counties, they fondly fancy that they have satisfied all that is required of a true architect in designing a Protestant place of worship suited to a tropical climate and the refined exigencies of the nineteenth century.

The most correct Gothic building yet erected in India is the College at Benares, designed by the late Captain Kittoe, who, though not educated as an architect, had more enthusiasm for the art than most men, and had devoted many years of his life to its study in India and elsewhere; he was consequently in a position to do better than most of his brother officers; but he had not sufficient command of the details of the style to adapt them to the new circumstances, and his college is from this cause a failure, both as an artistic design and as a utilitarian building. The result of this is that it has been subsequently so altered that its Gothic character has nearly disappeared, without acquiring those qualities which ought primarily to have guided the architect in his design.

It is very difficult to guess what may be the future of Architecture in India. It will hardly be in the direction of Gothic, except for churches; but there other feelings than those that guide the progress of Art may interfere. In civil buildings the Saracenic is practically so like Gothic that it will probably be preferred where that class of detail and that amount of ornament is wanted. Already several attempts have been made to introduce it into public buildings, but generally by persons who had acquired only a very superficial knowledge of the style from Daniel's prints or recent photographs. To adapt it really to any new purpose requires a far more intricate knowledge of its principles than any of those who have tried their hands at it in India have been found to possess. The designs hitherto proffered or executed would look very well as the back scene of a theatre, or a model at Cremorne or the Crystal Palace, but are not serious art, or likely ever to become worthy of that name. A far more hopeful sign is the style adopted in some of the new buildings at Bombay. During the American war fabulous fortunes were realised there from the rise in the price of cotton. The old fortifications of the city were

pulled down, new streets and boulevards were laid out, and buildings commenced in the new city in a style of magnificence unknown up to that date in British India. Many of these, too, consist only of arcaded storeys superimposed one on another, with only such ornament as is required to accentuate the construction; and when pillars are introduced it is only when their employment is more convenient than that of an arch. Owing to the sudden revulsion that took place when the civil war in America ceased, many of these buildings are not yet finished, or at least only photographs of them, with the scaffold up, have reached this country. But enough can be gathered from them to feel sure that if our countrymen have only the courage to adhere to this common-sense style and forget Gothic and Saracenic fancies, they will soon accomplish something very good; and with the dimensions and light and shade which the climate demands, our Indian cities may become objects of which we may be proud.

An equally good result has been attained at Hongkong, where a similar style of architecture has been introduced, and where the superior style of workmanship of the Chinese, combined with the extreme beauty of the situation, have rendered the external aspect of that city equal to anything known in Europe. Neither Genoa nor Naples can compare with it architecturally, though in outward form they resemble it, especially the former.

With such results, and with a climate demanding architectural forms and display, there is hope that something good may be done, provided the pitfalls can be obviated which have proved the ruin of the Art in Europe. This progress, however, it must be observed, has only been attained in the private buildings and residences of the merchants and civilians. In Bombay these were till recently generally only magnified bungalows, with sloping tiled roofs and wooden verandahs; in Madras they were and are a little better, but too generally without any architectural pretensions: in Bengal they were seldom without their verandah of pillars in one of the Italian Orders, and with cornices and window-dressings in the same style.

In Calcutta the houses are generally square blocks, at least two, generally three storeys in height, always standing alone in what are called compounds, or courts adorned with gardens and surrounded by the domestic offices. Each house is a separate design by itself, and towards the south is always covered by deep verandahs, generally arcaded in the basement, with pillars above, which are closed to half their height, from above, by green Venetian blinds, which are fixed as part of the structure. The dimensions of these façades are about those of the best Venetian palaces. The Grimani, for instance, both in dimensions and arrangement, would range perfectly with the ordinary run of Calcutta houses, though, alas! none of them could approach it in design. They also possess, when of three storeys, the

advantage pointed out in speaking of Italian palaces, of having the third storey of equal height to the lower two.

The consequence of all this is, that, although the pillars are spaced six or even eight or ten diameters apart, and support only wooden architraves, though the whole is only brick covered with stucco, and though the details are generally badly drawn and frequently misapplied, still the effect of the whole is eminently palatial and satisfactory.

In fact, with these dimensions, with their appropriateness, their ornamental detail, and the amount of thought bestowed on each separate design, it would be nearly impossible it should be otherwise. They are, in fact, nothing but what they pretend to be; and when this is the case it is far more difficult to do wrong than it is to do right according to the system of design in vogue in this country.

Now that arcades are very generally introduced instead of pillars, and better details and more perfect construction are everywhere to be seen, and have already altered the aspect not only of Bombay and Calcutta but of other Eastern cities, we may look forward with some confidence to a day when other places may be dignified by the title of "Cities of Palaces," to which in former days Calcutta alone not unjustly aspired.

CHAPTER IV.

NATIVE ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

It was not to be expected that any artistic fashion could for so long a period be practised by the conquering race without the subject people adopting it in some form or other, and trying to apply it to their own purposes. Unfortunately, since the world began it has been the curse of all conquest that the conquered people can neither emulate the virtues nor rise to the level of their masters, while they are prone to ape their fashions, and, in copying, to exaggerate their vices.

India has been no exception to this rule; and it would be difficult, in modern times at least, to find anything much more contemptible than the tawdry imitations of a European Court which we ourselves set up at Lucknow, coupled as it was with a sensuality and corruption which can only exist under an Asiatic sun. Although it was here that the Eastern form of the Italian Renaissance bloomed in all its absurdities, it was not here that it first took root. Our empire and our influence commenced in the Carnatic, long before it practically extended to Bengal; and it is at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and the other cities of the south, that the natives first tried what they could do in the styles of Alberti and Michael Angelo.

One of the most remarkable examples of this is to be found at Tanjore. As you approach the town you see two great pagoda forms towering over all the rest, nearly equal in dimensions, and not unlike each other in form. The one is the grand old temple represented in Woodcut No. 1045 in the 'History of Architecture'; the other is a portion of the Palace, and, on a nearer examination, is found to be made up of Italian balusters, some attenuated, some stumpy, intermixed with pillars and pilasters of the most hideous shapes, but all meant for Italian, and mixed up with Hindoo gods and goddesses, and little scraps of native Architecture peeping out here and there, so as to make up a whole so inexpressibly ludicrous and bad, that one hardly knows whether to laugh or be angry. At first sight it appears difficult to understand what state of affairs could have brought about such a combination as this; but if any one wanted to understand thoroughly the state of the native mind at the time this pagoda palace was erected, he could nowhere find a better illustration. There

is here that persistent adherence to their ancient forms and feelings in all essentials which characterises everything native, merely varnished over with a tawdry film of European civilisation which they neither feel nor understand.

What was done at Tanjore only faintly foreshadowed what took place at Lucknow. Our power was too early established in the south, and the destruction of the native dynasties too complete, to allow of any great development of any sort in their dependent state. The most powerful of southern native princes, the so-called Nawaub of the Carnatic, was brought into Madras itself, where he erected a huge formless pile, in which he and his descendants now live, but without the means of indulging in any architectural vagaries.

The kingdom of Oude was one of our next creations. From the importance of their relative position its sovereigns were from the earliest date protected by us, which means that they were relieved, if not from all the cares, at least from all the responsibilities of government; and, with the indolence natural to the Indian character, and the temptations incident to an Eastern Court, left to spend in debauchery and corruption the enormous revenues placed at their disposal. The result might easily have been foreseen. Things went on from bad to worse, till the nuisance became intolerable, and was summarily put an end to by the daring injustice of Lord Dalhousie's policy.

One of the earliest buildings of importance at Lucknow, in the Italian style, is the Mansion of Constantia,[1] built by General Martin,[2] as a residence for himself.

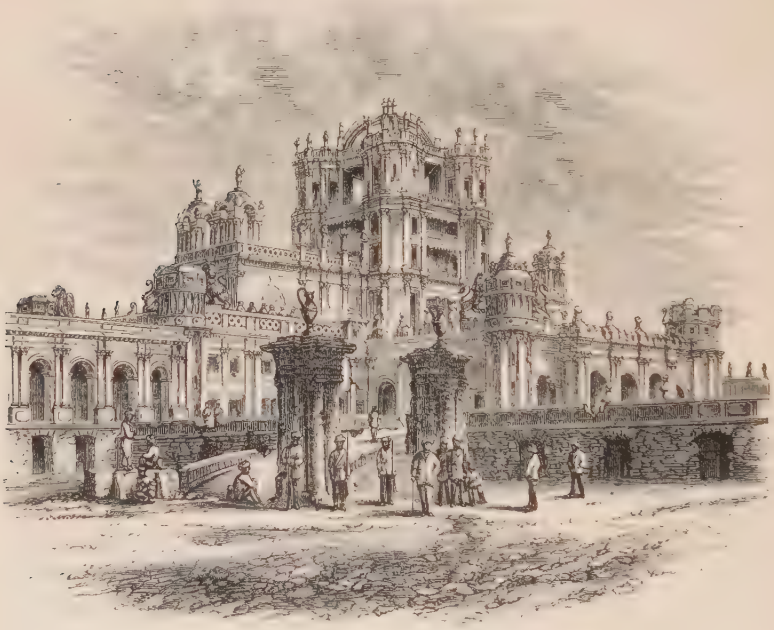
The General was apparently his own architect, and has produced a design somewhat fantastic in arrangement, which sins against most of the rules of pure Palladian Art to an extent that would not be pardonable except in such a climate and under the peculiar circumstances in which it was erected. Notwithstanding this there is something very striking in the great central tower, rising from a succession of terraced roofs one over the other, and under which are a series of halls grouped internally so as produce the most pleasing effects, while their arrangement was at the same time that most suitable to

[1] So called apparently from the motto "Labore et Constantia," adopted by the General, and written up in front of his house.

[2] General Martin was born at Lyons in 1732, and died at Lucknow 1800. He commenced his career as a private soldier in the French army; but, in consequence of Lally's severity, deserted at the siege of Pondicherry, and joined the English service, in which he rose to the rank of General. He left the greater part of his immense fortune to found educational establishments at Lyons, Calcutta, and Lucknow; but, owing to the length of his will, and his having drawn it up himself, in bad English, the principal part of his money has been wasted in law expenses.

the climate. The sky-line is everywhere broken by little kiosks, not perhaps in the best taste, but pleasing from their situation, and appropriate in the vicinity of a town so full of such ornaments as the city in whose proximity it is situated. Taken altogether, it is a far more reasonable edifice than the rival *capriccio* of Beckford, at Fonthill; and if its details had been purer, and some of those solecisms avoided which an amateur architect is sure to fall into, it really does contain the germ of a very beautiful design.

The founder of the mansion lies beneath in a dimly-lighted vaulted chamber in the basement of the great tower. His tomb is a simple



275. View of the Martinière, Lucknow. From a Photograph.

plain sarcophagus, standing on the floor, and at each angle a grenadier in full uniform stands with arms reversed, in an attitude of grief, as if mourning over the fall of his master. The execution of the monument, like everything about the place, is bad, but the conception is one of the finest that has yet been hit upon for a soldier's grave.

This mansion is now fast falling to ruins, and a building of stuccoed brick is by no means a pleasing object in decay; but when new it must have been very striking. At all events, its effect on the Oude sovereigns was most remarkable. For although their tombs, their mosques, and imambarrahs were still erected in the debased Saracenic style then prevalent, all the palaces of Lucknow were henceforth

erected in this pseudo-Italian style. The Furrah Buksh, the Chutter Munsil, and numerous other buildings, display all the quaint picturesque irregularity of the age of Francis I., combined with more strange details than are to be found in the buildings of Henri IV. These were far surpassed in grotesqueness by the Kaiser Bagh, the residence of the late king. This consisted of a great square of buildings surrounding an immense courtyard: the whole palace being in extent and arrangement by no means unlike the Louvre and Tuileries as joined together by the late Emperor. But, instead of the beautiful stone of Paris, all was brick and plaster; and instead of the appropriate details of that palace, the buildings surrounding the great court at Lucknow are generally two storeys in height and singularly various in design, generally with pilasters of the most attenuated forms running through both storeys, between which Italian windows with Venetian blinds alternate with Saracenic arcades, or openings of no style whatever. These are surmounted by Saracenic battlements, and crowned by domes such as Rome or Italy never saw, and the whole painted with colours as crude as they are glaring. Inside there are several large and handsome halls, but all in the same bad taste as the exterior, and adorned with mirrors and furniture of the most costly description, but generally placed where they are not wanted, or where their presence has no meaning.

A detached building called the Begum Kotie is a better specimen of the style than anything perhaps in the Kaiser Bagh itself, but it cannot either be called a favourable specimen of Italian Art or a successful adaptation of the style to Oriental purposes, though it has a certain amount of picturesqueness which to some extent redeems its other defects. Like all the other specimens of Oriental Italian Architecture, it offends painfully, though less than most others, from the misapplication of the details of the Classical Orders. Of course no native of India can well understand either the origin or motive of the various parts of our Orders—why the entablature should be divided in architrave, frieze, and cornice—why the pillars should be a certain number of diameters in height, and so on. It is, in fact, like a man trying to copy an inscription in a language he does not understand, and of which he does not even know the alphabet. With the most correct eye and the greatest pains he cannot do it accurately. In India, besides this ignorance of the grammar of the art, the natives cannot help feeling that the projection of the cornices is too small if meant to produce a shadow, and too deep to be of easy construction in plaster in a climate subject to monsoons. They feel that brick pillars ought to be thicker than the Italian Orders generally are, and that wooden architraves are the worst possible mode of construction in a climate where wood decays so rapidly, even if spared by the white ants. The consequence is, that, between his ignorance of the prin-

ciples of Classic Art on the one hand, and his knowledge of what is suited to his wants and his climate on the other, he makes a sad jumble of the Orders. But fashion supplies the Indian with those incentives to copying which we derive from association and education: and, in the vain attempt to imitate his superiors, he has abandoned his own beautiful art to produce the strange jumble of vulgarity and bad taste we find at Lucknow and elsewhere.

The great caravanserais which the Calcutta baboos and the native rajahs have erected for their residences in Lower Bengal are generally in this style, but with an additional taint of vulgarity. But perhaps



276. Begum Kotie, Lucknow. From a Photograph.

the most striking example of it all is a pavilion which was erected within the palace at Delhi by the late king. It stood behind, and was seen above, the great audience hall of Shah Jehan, in which once stood the celebrated peacock throne, and is one of the noblest and most beautiful apartments of its class in any palace in the world. Over this, on entering the palace, you saw a little pavilion of brick and plaster, which its builder assumed to be the Doric Order, with Italian windows and Venetian blinds. The building was painted green, the frieze red, and the ornaments yellow!—the whole in worse taste than the summer-house of a Dutch skipper, as seen overhanging a canal in Holland. Contrasted with the simplicity and the elegance

of the white marble palace beneath, it told, in a language not to be mistaken, how deeply fallen and how contemptible were the late occupants of the throne, as compared with their great ancestors of the House of Timour, who ruled that mighty empire with wisdom, and adorned its cities with those faultless edifices described in a previous part of this work.

We live so completely among the specimens of the art of Architecture which are found in this country, and our associations or our prejudices are so bound up with our admiration for, or our feelings against them, that it is extremely difficult for us to get outside and take a calm survey of the whole, so as to read all the lessons that might be learned from their study. But if any one wished to feel assured how perfectly Architecture is a reflex of the national character and taste, there is perhaps no place where he would see this more clearly and distinctly than in studying the history of Architecture in Hindostan during the last six centuries.

Nothing can be grander and more severe, and, at the same time, more chastely ornate, than the buildings erected by the stern old Patans in the early centuries of the conquest; nothing more elegant, or in Architecture more poetic, than the palaces, the tombs, and mosques erected by the Mogul sovereigns during the period of their prosperity; and nothing could be better calculated to display at the time, and to hand down to posterity, a clear impression of their wealth, their magnificence, and the refinement of their taste.

Nothing, on the other hand, could more clearly show the utter degradation to which subjection to a foreign power has depressed their successors than the examples of the bastard style just quoted. When we reflect how completely the best educated and the most artistic classes in the reign of Queen Anne learned to despise the Gothic style of our forefathers, the taste for which has returned, and we now admire so intensely, we ought not to be surprised if the natives of India should have been influenced in the same manner, though from different causes. But it does seem astonishing, that while the Hindoos were erecting temples and ghauts, if not so grand, at least as elegant, as of yore—while the very kings of Oude were erecting such buildings as the Grand Imambarrah, or the Roumi Durwaza—they should, at the same time, fancy they saw beauty in such abominations as they were perpetrating under the guise of Italian Art. Is it that the demon of fashion can always blind our better judgment, and force us to admire any monstrosity that is in vogue at the moment?—and this, in spite of all that our better taste, or innate feeling of what is right, may point out to us as either really correct or beautiful.



University at Allahabad.

276a.

CHAPTER V.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[In various parts of the great Dependency the influence of British domination is still beneficially at work in architecture; and, more



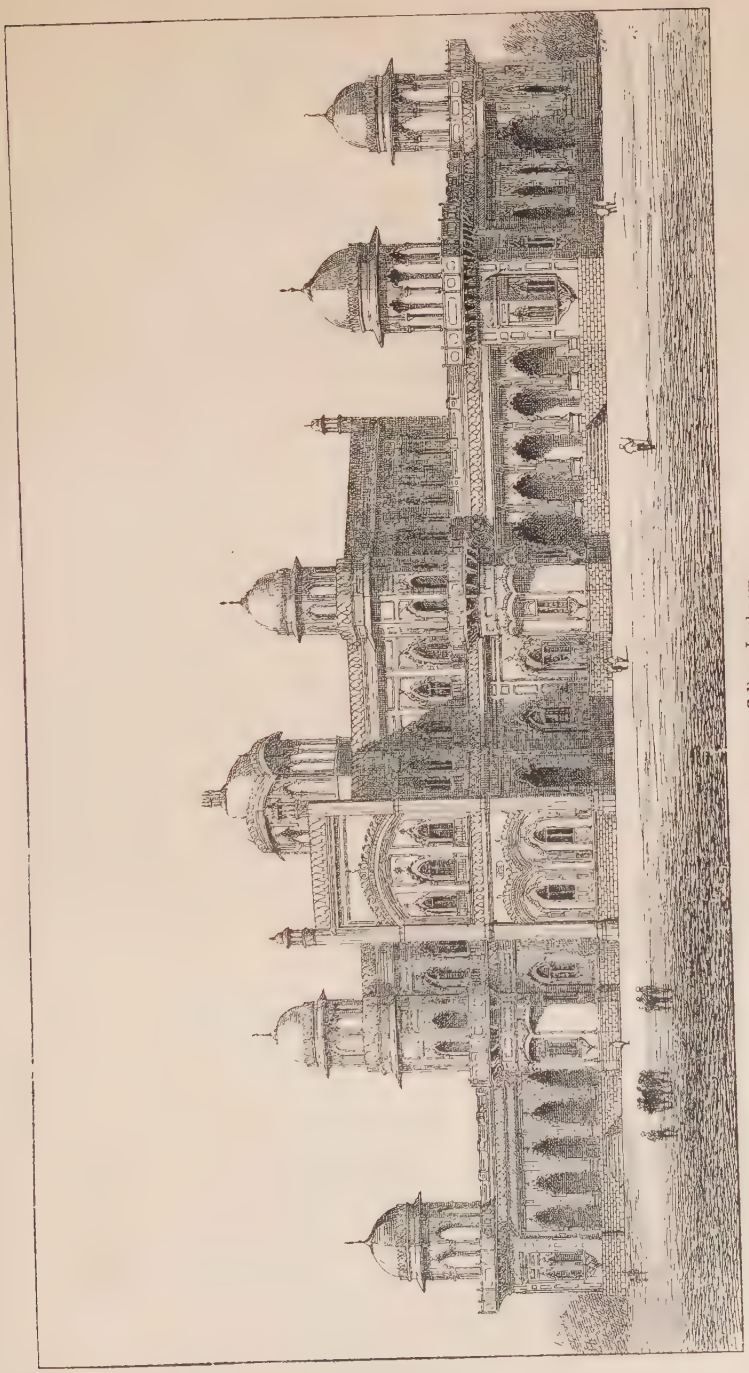
276b. Palace at Baroda.

especially, very good work has been done here and there in that imitation or acceptance of the native modes of design which modern English antiquarianism seems to regard as a fixed principle.

Plate 276*a* illustrates a design, by Emerson of London, which has very deservedly obtained honourable recognition. As the pupil of Burges, this architect may be said to combine with an incidental knowledge of Indian art that peculiar form of vigorous gracefulness which was the strong point of his master's work, always with the spirit of mediævalism prominent. This accounts for the Gothic character of some of the detail, while the motive of the grouping and disposition generally seems to be very successfully Indian.

The new palace of the native ruler of Baroda (No. 276*b*) was built under Major Mant, an Englishman, and is regarded as a highly successful work of perhaps a more characteristic if less refined style. The Gothic element is absent; and the reader is quite at liberty to think, if he feels so inclined, that its absence is not an advantage: that is to say, that the spirit of Gothic happens to form a valuable and legitimate alloy for Indian art in English hands.

Canning College, Lucknow (276*c*), is by a native architect, and on close inspection will be found to possess more artistic merit than may be apparent at first sight. Certain odd and unintelligible features must be allowed for, as justifiable on local grounds if not admirable otherwise.—Ed.]



Canning College, Lucknow.

2766.

TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

MOSQUES.

Strictly speaking, the history of the Renaissance Architecture in Turkey, or, more properly, in Constantinople, ought to be treated as commencing nearly contemporaneously with its rise in Italy, inasmuch as after the death of Mahomet II., in 1480, the Turks abandoned their own original style of mosque-building, to copy the Byzantine forms of the city they had just obtained possession of; and so enamoured did they become with the new form, that they have never reverted to the usual or orthodox plan of a mosque in the capital, though in the provinces the true Saracenic style has always prevailed, with only a very slight admixture of the Byzantine element.

There is, however, this very material and important distinction between the practice of the architects of the Western and Eastern capitals of the old Roman Empire. At Rome, the Renaissance architects retained the old form of the Mediæval Church, but carried it out with Classical details: at Constantinople, the Turks adopted, in their mosques, the forms of the Byzantine Church, which were new to them, but carried out their designs with their own beautiful and appropriate details. The former was a stupid and unnecessary process, brought about—as pointed out above—by circumstances wholly irrespective of, and foreign to, the art of Architecture. The latter is a reasonable and proper course to pursue, which, honestly persevered in, can only lead to the most satisfactory results.

Nothing can be wiser or more expedient than that a foreign nation settling in a new country should adopt such forms and arrangements of buildings as have been found most suitable to the climate and to the constructive necessities of the place; but it by no means follows from this that they are also to copy the details, and to debar themselves from introducing every improvement their taste or their own experience may suggest.

When the Turks conquered Constantinople, they soon found that

the climate was not suited to the open courts for mosques which were so appropriate at Cairo or at Delhi; and, having before them such noble buildings as the Church of St. Sophia, and other domical churches of the great age of Byzantine Art, they at once adopted the form, and set about building mosques on that plan, but improving, in so far as they could, not only the arrangement and construction, but employing everywhere their own Saracenic details, and adapting each of them to the place it was to occupy, and the constructive necessities it was to fulfil or to represent.

Strictly speaking, the arrangement of the plan and the construction of a building belong to the engineering branch of the profession. The harmonious adjustment of its proportions, and the appropriate ornamentation of these parts, fall specially within the province of the Architect. All that the Turks did was to borrow the mechanical part of their mosques from their Byzantine predecessors; but they were neither so lazy nor so illogical as to think that their doing so excused them from the necessity of thought, or that mere reproduction can either be, or can ever represent, contemporary Art.

The practical result of these two different systems is what might easily be foreseen. At Rome we have St. Peter's—a Gothic church carried out with Classical details; though in dimensions it is as large as any three Mediæval cathedrals put together, though, constructively, it is superior to any, and though in richness of detail and ornamentation it surpasses them all—yet in the effect it produces, and in artistic merit generally, it is less satisfactory than the smallest and plainest of Mediæval cathedrals.

At Constantinople, on the contrary, we have, in the contemporary Sulimanie Mosque, a building which, though one of the first attempts of a new people in an unfamiliar style, is beautiful in itself, and in some respects an improvement on the model from which it was copied.[1] In the Mosque of Ahmed and others, we have interiors as superior to those of the contemporary churches of the Palladian school as it is possible to conceive; and this result was obtained by a set of ignorant Turks, aided by a few renegade Levantines, competing with the best intellects and the most educated classes of Western Europe, at the time of their highest artistic development!

But the Westerns were following out a wrong system, in which success was impossible. The Easterns were correct in their principles of Art, and failure was consequently very difficult to be achieved.

In so far, therefore, as the form is concerned, the Constantinopolitan Renaissance arose contemporaneously with the Italian, and might be so treated in a history of Art. If, however, the essence only is considered, it dates only from within the limits of the present century.

[1] See 'History of Architecture,' vol. ii. p. 413 *et seqq.*

Though either classification might consequently be adopted, the latter is the relation in which it will be convenient to treat of it on the present occasion.

Since the beginning of the present century Turkish Architecture may be said to have fairly passed out of this stage of quasi-Renaissance, or true Art, which distinguished it for the previous three centuries, and to have assumed the true Renaissance, in all its illogical and unthinking unreasonableness.

The round hats of the Franks have invaded the Bosphorus, and with them have come their mistaken principles of Art. To the Byzantine form of their mosques the Turks have now added the details



277. Mosque of Selim, Scutari. From a Drawing by T. Allom.

of the Italian Orders; but as yet not ungracefully, partly because Roman details are not wholly incongruous with Byzantine forms, and because, in the mosques at least, it is only the details, not the forms, that they have altered. It has not yet occurred to them to try and make one of their religious edifices look like a Roman Basilica, or a Greek Temple, or anything, in fact, but what it is; and thus far, therefore, the injury is only partial.

In the mosque, for instance, that the Sultan Mahomed II. (1808–1838) erected at Tophana, the outline is that of all the older buildings, and it is only on a close or critical inspection that we discover the clumsy consoles and badly-profiled cornices with which it is covered.

That of his predecessor, Selim, at Scutari, is a more pleasing speci-

men; and though all the details are really Italian, they are used with such freedom, and so little obtrusive, that their introduction may almost be forgiven. Were it not for the exceeding beauty of the older mosques, we should not hesitate to admire this specimen of the art; and it is also easy to see that a little more familiarity with the best class of Italian details would have remedied many of the defects of these designs. The only question being, Is freedom possible with such familiarity? all that can now be answered is, that so far as our experience goes, knowledge and slavery in Architectural Art seem synonymous terms.

The great mosque which Mahomet Ali erected in the Citadel at Cairo is a still more remarkable example of the decline of architectural taste in the East. Its dimensions are very considerable, as it consists of a square block of building measuring 157 ft. each way, and, with the attached courtyard surrounded by arcades, the whole measures 365 ft. by 186. Its plan, too, is unexceptionable, being a square hall surmounted by a dome 60 ft. in diameter internally, and four semi-domes of pure Constantinopolitan type.[1] In addition to these advantages, its materials are richer than any used for a similar purpose in any mosque in modern times, the walls internally being all covered with slabs of Oriental alabaster of the most beautiful tints; and it was intended to have carried the same class of ornamentation all over the exterior, but the mosque was left unfinished at the death of its founder in 1842.[2]

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the building must be pronounced a failure in an architectural point of view, for the same reason that the church at Mousta fails, as also the cathedrals of Boulogne and Gran[3]—because of the want of knowledge of the principles of design on the part of their architects, and because their details neither express the construction nor are elegant in themselves. Externally, the mosque itself is pierced with two storeys of plain unornamented windows, which, without any grouping, certainly do not indicate the interior. The arches of the vaults are not brought through to the outside, as is the case invariably at Constantinople; the roof is so flat and so plain that the group of domes and semi-domes that crown it lose half the value, as far as size is concerned, and all the poetry they might possess, if growing naturally out of the construction below. Add to this that the details are in a bad, ill-understood Corinthian style, mingled with Pointed arches and Rococo ornaments of all sorts, and it will be easy to understand how even the noblest design may have been destroyed.

[1] It is, in fact, a reproduction on a somewhat smaller scale of the Mosque of Ahmed at Constantinople ('History of Architecture,' Woodcut 942).

[2] I am indebted for the dimensions here given to a plan of the building kindly procured for me by the Rev. Geo. Washington, chaplain at Cairo, and to my own subsequent personal observation.

[3] See Introduction, pp. 33 to 37.

Internally, the effect is very much more pleasing. The light, though subdued, is sufficient; the materials rich, and the colouring is not offensive; while the plan and mode of roofing by domes and semi-domes is such that even a Levantine could hardly spoil it. The consequence of all this is that, as an interior, this mosque will stand a comparison with almost any building in Europe of its own age.

The real difference, however, between this mosque in the citadel and the older mosques in the city of Cairo below, does not exist in either the dimensions or the original conception of the building so much as in the mode of carrying it into effect. In the olden time the



278. Mosque in Citadel at Cairo. From a Photograph by F. Bedford.

architect would merely have arranged his building, probably very much as this one is laid out, and would have provided that the construction should be truthful and truthfully expressed both inside and out. All the moulding, with the capitals, brackets, &c., would have been built in block, and, as the structure progressed, one block would have been handed over to one carver to be completed, another to another. He would then have employed the inlayer on one part, the painter on another, and the gilder where his services might be required; and all these men working together, each a master in his own department, would have produced that multiplicity combined with unity we so much admire in the old buildings. The misfortune

is, this class of artist does not now exist in Cairo; and the architect must put into his design as much thought as he has time for, or is capable of exerting, before he begins it. As he first conceives it, so it is erected, and when the crescent is put on the top of the dome the whole is considered complete. Surely we ought not, under these circumstances, to be surprised at the cold and unsatisfactory result that is produced by this process in this instance.[1] Yet it probably pleases those that worship in it as much, if not more than the older buildings, which excite such admiration in our eyes; but it can only do so in consequence of its size and the richness of its materials; and there is no surer sign of the decay of taste, or of a want of knowledge of the principles of Art, on the part of any people, than the assumption that these two qualities can ever be of any value except as mere vehicles for the expression of the higher qualities of taste and design which can alone make a work of Art valuable.

[1] On the right of the drawing is a cast-iron clock-tower, which must, with the machinery, have been ordered from some firm in Birmingham, as the mouldings and decorations are all in that class of Gothic which we find adorning steam-engines and water-tanks in our manufacturing towns. As it is very offensive in its native land, it will be understood how much more so it is in this situation; but even then it is questionable whether it is in worse taste than the alabaster fountain occupying the centre of the court of the mosque.

CHAPTER II.

PALACES.

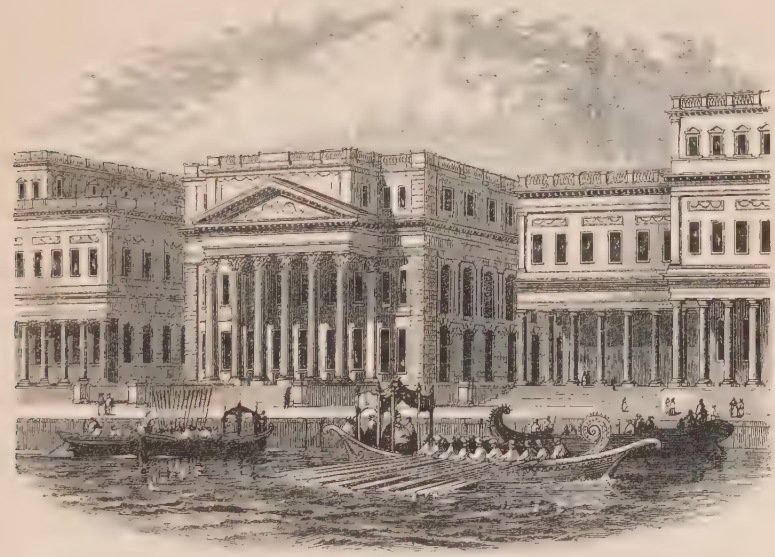
Although, from the same strong conservative feeling connected with religious buildings, the mosques of the Turks have hitherto, like those of Lucknow and Delhi, escaped from the lowest stage of the copying school, the same assertion cannot be made with regard to their palaces. The Ambassadors of the Western Powers have erected for themselves palaces at Pera in styles peculiar to the various countries which they represent; and the Sultans of Turkey have learnt to admire these, as they have been taught to believe in every form of the civilisation of Western Europe, and, more than this, have employed the architects deputed to build the ambassadorial residences to erect palaces for themselves.

The view on the next page of one of the Sultan's New Palaces on the Bosphorus is a fair average specimen of the productions of this new school. Instead of the old plan of designing every part with reference to the purpose to which it was to be applied, of making every window and pillar tell its own tale, and of carving every detail with reference to the situation and the light in which it was to be placed, we have here a design which any clever draftsman could complete in all essentials between sunrise and sunset, and which, when finished, would be as suitable for the climate or the purposes of St. Petersburgh or Washington as for a palace of a Turkish Sultan on the shores of the Bosphorus! Though there is no vulgarity and no gross architectural solecism in the design, it would be difficult to see how the art could well sink lower than the stage here represented.

Another palace in Constantinople, which was in progress of erection by the late Sultan Abdul Medjid at the time of his death, from the designs of a young Armenian artist, named Balzan, is in many respects better than the last mentioned, in some worse. As will be seen from the view, it is rich in detail and full of design to an extent rarely found in modern buildings of the classical school. It is more like a design in the Plateresco style of the Spanish architects of the 16th century than anything that has been done since that time, and if the details were

good in themselves, or appropriate, the effect would be all that could be desired; but it was a mistake in the artist to adopt so much that was Classical, and mix it with so much opposed to all the principles of that style.

Although, therefore, this second example has not the customhouse-like coldness of the first design, it is nearly as unsatisfactory, though from very different causes. The first shows no evidence of thought, and has hardly a sufficiency of ornament for its situation or its purposes. The second has an almost superfluity of ornament, and also evinces a considerable amount of design. It fails, however, in producing the desired effect, because the principal part of the



279. Palace on the Bosphorus. From a Drawing by T. Allom.

details are borrowed from a foreign Classical style, and are used for purposes for which they were not originally intended; and the parts which are added are such as neither accord with the original intention of the Orders, nor with anything suggested by the building itself.

The whole of the details are, in fact, evidently added for ornament's sake, without any real reference to the constructive exigencies of the building, nor in order to adapt the foreign elements to the necessities of the climate in which they are employed; neither have they any particular reference to the manners or customs of the Sublime Porte. They halt between all these; and the puzzled architect has only exhibited the confusion of his own brain, while he had at his disposal



280. View of the Sultan's New Palace at Constantinople. From a Photograph.

money, materials, and means to produce as rich and as beautiful a building as any in Europe.

It is to be feared that there is too little vitality left in the Turks or in the Turkish Empire to hope that, in Europe at least, they can ever rise again to such a degree of power as to be able to shake off this state of dependence on the arts and influences of the West. They have not yet sunk so low as the wretched Nawaubs of Oude, and their Architecture is still better than that of Lucknow; but it seems as if they were sinking into the position of a protected state; and protection is only another word for degradation that sooner or later must lead to extinction.

In Europe the Turks have been too mixed a people, too little at home, and too insecure in their possessions, to have ever done much for Art, notwithstanding the instincts of their race, and their expulsion would now be no loss in this respect; though neither the

Greeks nor any of the subject nationalities who might succeed them seem at all likely to surpass them in this respect. Up to this moment at least the Greeks of the Levant have not shown the smallest aptitude for Art in any of its forms; and although with more leisure and better opportunities there may be a prospect of improvement, even this at present seems very doubtful.

BOOK IX.

AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

MEXICO.

The steps by which the Classic styles were introduced into America by the Spaniards were identical with those which led the Portuguese to adopt it as their style of architecture in the East, and the results were practically the same in both countries.

Religious enthusiasm was at its height in Spain at the time when the New World was discovered by Columbus; and the enormous wealth acquired by the conquest of Mexico and Peru, whether resulting from plunder or from the successful working of the mines, naturally led so priest-favouring a people to dedicate a considerable portion of their newly-acquired wealth to religious purposes. The consequence was that very soon every city in the New World built its cathedral, every town its churches, and every hacienda its chapel: but it is, perhaps, not unjust to say that not one of them was in any degree remarkable for beauty of architectural design.

It has already been pointed out how inartistic the Spaniards had shown themselves in dealing with the Renaissance styles in their own country, notwithstanding the assistance they obtained from the artists of Italy and France, and it could hardly be expected that they would do even as well in the New World. The priests, who, in nine cases out of ten, were the architects there, had none of them received the necessary professional education. They had a certain recollection of what was done in their own country, and may have possessed imperfect drawings of the more celebrated churches of their day. But to adapt these to altered circumstances, and to carry them out in detail with native—or at least with local—artists, was as difficult (if not more so) as to make a new design. The consequence is that most of the churches of New Spain, though many are remarkable for their

size and splendour, are singularly plain in an architectural point of view; or, what is worse, vulgar and pretentious from an affectation of Classical Art, either misunderstood or misapplied.

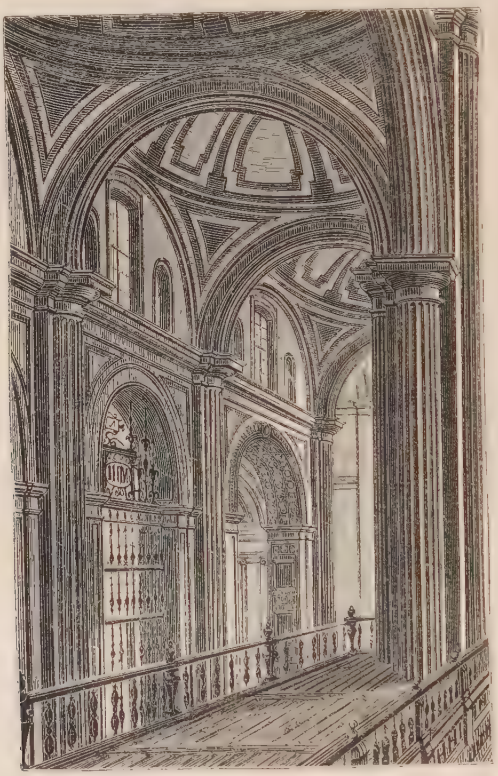
The largest and finest of all the churches erected in the New World is perhaps the cathedral of Mexico. It was commenced in the year 1573, in substitution of an older church which had been erected by Fernan Cortes, on the site of the great temple of Montesuma, but was not finished till the year 1657. Its dimensions are



281. External View of the Cathedral at Mexico. From Pedro Gualdi, 'Monumentos de Mejico.'

very considerable, inasmuch as it is said to measure 504 ft. over all, externally, from north to south, and 228 ft. across, or very nearly the same as those of St. Paul's. It has five aisles, and the intersection of the nave and transepts is crowned by an octagonal lantern, but only of the same width as the central aisle. As it is understood that the designs for this church were sent out from Europe, it avoids many of the faults which are so offensive in some of the other churches of this city. Indeed the architectural arrangement of the interior may be called singularly happy for this class of building.

The entablature, which always formed the great stumblingblock of architects in this style, is altogether omitted: and the arches spring direct from the capitals of the Doric half-columns, which are attached to the piers. It thus avoids most of the faults of our St. Paul's, and even the size of the dome is internally in better proportion to the rest of the church, where there is a chancel beyond. If the dome ends the vista, it may be of any size; but in the middle of a cruciform church it throws every other part out of proportion if its dimensions are not kept moderate.



282. View of Side Aisle in the Cathedral at Mexico. From Gualdi.

Externally, the western façade is massive and imposing, perhaps more so than any Spanish church of the age and style. Its two great towers rising to a height of 305 ft. are really grand features, solid below, and tapering pleasingly above. The central dome, it must be confessed, looks mean externally compared with those found in Italian and French churches; but the Spaniards—except at the Escurial—do not seem ever to have affected this feature.

When we look at the immense difficulties in the internal arrange-

ment which the introduction of a tall Italian dome superinduces, it becomes a question whether it really is a legitimate part of such a design; but it is so noble that a good deal can be forgiven for its sake. The external outline of the cathedral of Mexico is—barring its details—perhaps, one of the best proportioned examples of a church designed to dispense with this feature; though it can hardly be doubted but that externally the loss of effect is considerable from this cause. Even if it must be admitted that the adaptation of the tall dome to the internal arrangement of a modern church has not been quite successfully accomplished hitherto, there seems little doubt but that with the engineering talent of the present day that difficulty also might be overcome; and that a great dome might be fitted to a nave, at least as wide as two-thirds of its diameter, without any offensive display of mechanical expedients. If this were done with judgment and taste, we should probably have an architectural effect such as has not yet been seen; but it is not to the New World we must look for anything so artistic or so desirable.

As at Goa, some of the cloisters attached to the great monastic establishments of Mexico and elsewhere are more pleasing specimens of Architectural Art than the churches to which they belong. One in particular, attached to the Convent of Na. Sa. de la Merced, is as bright and as beautiful as that of Lupiana (Woodcut No. 89), or anything in Spain. It possesses that happy arrangement of two smaller arcades over one wider arch below, as in the Doge's Palace at Venice; except that in this instance nothing has been put over them, and as the whole detail is rich and elaborate, the effect is extremely pleasing.

There are no public buildings in the city of Mexico remarkable as Architectural designs. Many are large and highly ornamented, but they are only bad copies of buildings at home, having no local peculiarity to distinguish them from those of the mother country, except what is universal in colonial design—that clumsiness in executing the various details and profiling the Classical moulding, which so shocks any one who has imbued himself with the beauty of Classical Art in this respect.

CHAPTER II.

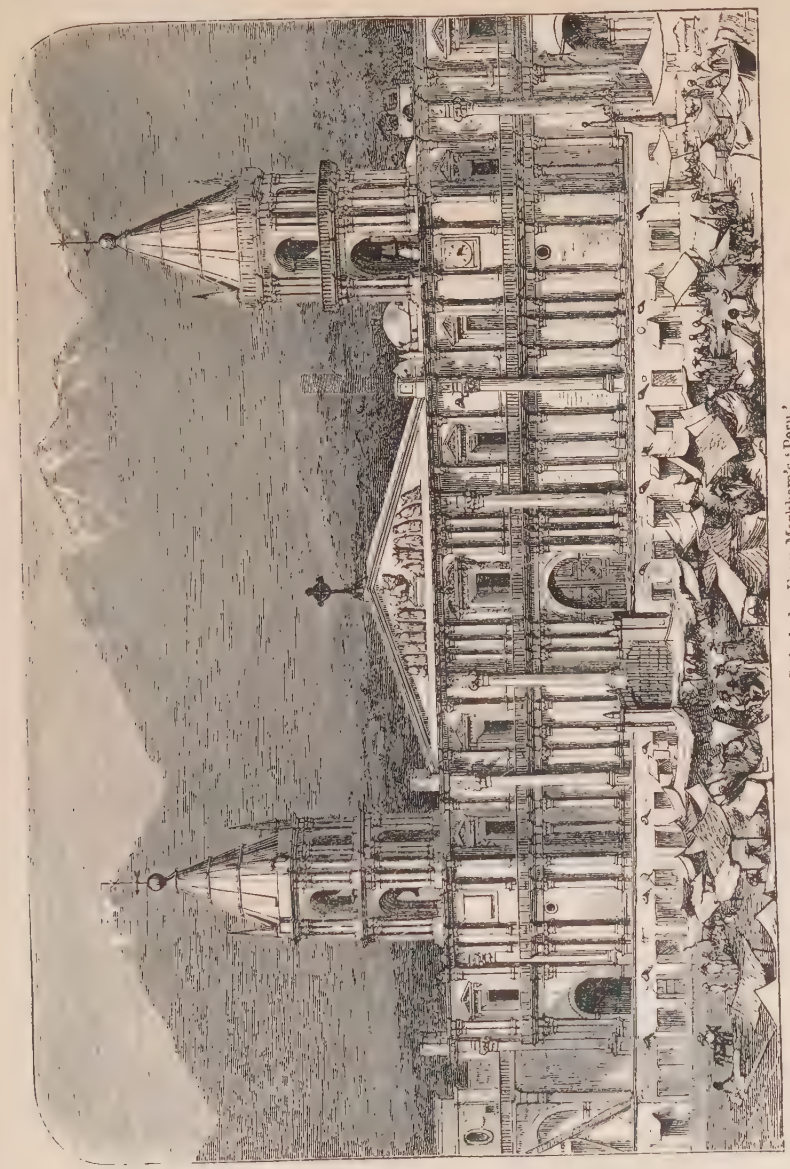
PERU.

The cathedral of Arequipa, in Peru, is probably as good an example as could well be chosen to illustrate the position of the art of Architecture in the emancipated colonies of Spain at the present day. The original cathedral was commenced in the year 1621, from the designs of an architect named Andrea Espinosa, and was completed in 1656. This building was, however, almost entirely destroyed by fire on the 1st of December, 1844, shortly after which time the rebuilding was commenced, on the same plan and general outline as the former edifice, but with such improvements in detail as the progress in the knowledge of Architectural design seemed to suggest.[1]

As will be seen from the woodcut, the façade is of very considerable extent, and divided into five compartments by Corinthian pillars standing upon a low basement, but supporting only a fragment of an entablature. Between these are two ranges of pillars standing one upon the other, of the same Order, but of course only half the height; and it is their cornice—not that of the larger Order—that crowns the building. This is perhaps the only important instance known of this curious inversion of the European principle of design, and it is so nearly successful that a very little more would have made it quite so. If the larger Corinthian Order had only been used as square piers or buttresses, marking the divisions of the interior, their use would have been understood and their effect most pleasing. A very monumental effect is also obtained by the lower storey being pierced only by the entrances, and the upper by a few well-proportioned windows widely spaced. The towers are perhaps a little too low, but their form was probably the only one that ought to be adopted in a country so subject to earthquakes; and, even as it is, they are well proportioned to the length of the façade to which they are attached, and their design is pleasing and free from any instance of bad taste.

[1] For this information, and for the woodcut, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Clements Markham, the well-known author of several works on Peru, and the introducer of bark into India.

The features that principally detract from the beauty of this façade arise from the peculiarity so often remarked upon in the previous pages, of men undertaking to design in a style with all



Arequipa Cathedral. From Markham's 'Peru.'

283.

the details of which they are not practically familiar. At Mousta, at Boulogne, at Goa, or Calcutta, where buildings are erected by persons who have not mastered the details of the style, they commit

the same faults that a man would make who would attempt to write a poem in Latin without knowing more than the mere rudiments of the language. However grand and good their conceptions may be, they are marred by the defective mode in which they are expressed, and so it always will be till men learn to build as they write—in the vernacular.

CHAPTER III.

NORTH AMERICA.

When we turn from what was done in Mexico and Peru to examine the Architectural forms of the United States of North America, we become instantly aware of the enormous difference of race and religion that prevails between the two great sections of that continent.

The old Scandinavian or Dutch settlers built their meeting-houses for prayer, or their neat quaint dwellings, in utter ignorance of the precepts of Palladio, and with the same supreme contempt for Mediæval Art as it prevailed in Europe for three centuries after it ceased to be a real art; and the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers, who followed and superseded them, showed the same Anglo-Saxon indifference to Architectural ornament as has characterised their race at all times, except when their national vanity is piqued into rivalry with some other nation of more artistic tendencies. The consequence of this was, that from the time of the earliest colonisation of this country, till after the termination of the war of 1812–14, there was hardly one single building erected in Northern America which is worthy of being mentioned as an example of Architectural Art.

When after the termination of that war it became the "manifest destiny" of the United States to surpass all the nations of the earth in Art as in everything else, they set about doing something to justify the boast they were so fond of proclaiming.

Hitherto their attempts have been less successful than even those of the mother country; and there is with them less prospect of improvement than with us. An American has a great deal too much to do, and is always in too great a hurry to do it, ever to submit to the long, patient study and discipline requisite to master any one style of Architecture perfectly. Still less is he likely to submit to that amount of self-negation which is indispensable if a man would attempt to be original. Why should he stop to design each detail to the place it is intended to occupy? Why should he try to proportion every part harmoniously, or to apply each ornament appropriately? Why submit to all this drudgery, when Classic pillars and Gothic pinnacles stuck on *ad libitum* get over all difficulties, and satisfy himself and his employers? The perfection of Art in an American's

eyes would be attained by the invention of a self-acting machine, which should produce plans of cities and designs for Gothic churches or Classic municipal buildings, at so much per foot super, and so save all further trouble or thought.

The planning of cities has in America been always practically performed by these means; the process being to take a sheet of machine-ruled paper, and, determining the scale that is to be used, to divide the whole into equal squares, easily staked out, and the contents of which are easily computed. Whether the ground is flat or undulating—whether the river or shore on which it is situated is straight or curved—whatever the accident of the situation, or the convenience of traffic—this simple plan enables any man to lay out a city in a morning; and if he can do this, why should he spend weeks or months in carefully contouring the ground? Why proportion his streets to the traffic they are intended to convey? Why draw complicated curves so difficult to set out, and so puzzling to calculate? Why, in short, think, when the thing can be done without thought? It is in vain to urge that by this process the most prosaic ugliness has been stamped on every city of the Union hitherto laid out, when, by a little pains and a little more thought, far more beautiful and more convenient cities might have been produced. This may be true; but the first process answers all the purposes of a people who have so little feeling for Art that they do not perceive its deformity. The latter requires both time and thought, and why should they expend theirs upon it while the other supplies their wants?[1]

The same system prevails in their buildings. If not so absolutely mechanical as their plans, it is still true that their principal drawing instrument is a pair of scissors; and a machine might guide these almost as well as a human hand, were it not that after being pinned together the design must generally be attenuated and pared down to suit the pecuniary exigencies of the case. Notwithstanding the defects of their system, the Americans have lately shown a great

[1] Though the Americans have carried this principle to excess, it must be confessed that all cities which have been *founded* have more or less of this rectangular ugliness, which is only avoided in those which *grow*. The cities which the Greek colonists founded in Asia Minor, or on the shores of the Black Sea, were all more or less rectangular. Alexandria was completely so. The cities the Romans founded in this country were generally rectangular in plan. The Bastides, which our Edward founded at Guienne and elsewhere in France, were as formal as New York or Philadelphia; and in the dark ages of our Art we admired the plan of the new town of Edinburgh. In laying out towns, this mode of proceeding may be useful as avoiding some practical difficulties; but it certainly is absolutely destructive of all picturesqueness or beauty; and no city so arranged can ever display with pleasing effect such specimens of Architectural Art as it may possess.

desire to display their wealth in architectural magnificence, and to rival the Old World in this respect; and have produced some very showy buildings, but certainly not one that can be seriously commended as an artistic design, and still less any one which can be quoted as a well-thought-out expression of a mind imbued with architectural taste and knowledge.

CHAPTER IV.

WASHINGTON.

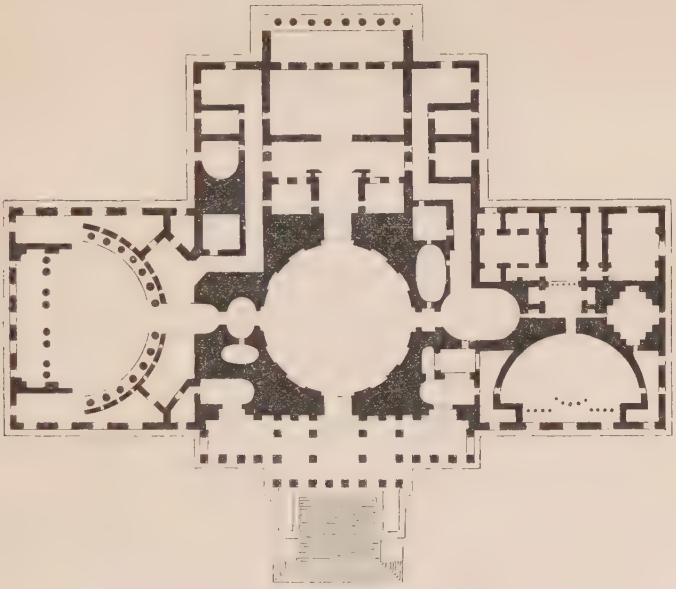
The principal edifice in the United States of America, or, at least, the one of which they are most proud, is the Capitol at Washington, which would be an ornament to any city, though scarcely deserving all the praise that has been bestowed upon it.

"The original design of the Capitol was partly by Dr. William Thornton and partly by Mr. B. H. Latrobe. The corner (? foundation) stone was laid by General Washington in September, 1793, and the original building was completed under the superintendence of Mr. C. Bulfinch, as architect, in 1830."[1] This building, however, only extended 352 feet north and south, and was comprised in the centre block shown in the accompanying plan (Woodcut No. 284). Recently two wings have been added to it, more than doubling its extent, and it now measures 680 feet north and south by 280 east and west, across the central porticoes (Woodcut No. 285). The central dome, too, though part of the original design, has only just been completed, and, with these additions, it is, with the exception of our Parliament Houses, the most extensive and most highly ornamented legislative palace in the world.

The general ordinance of the architecture of the Capitol somewhat resembles that of our Somerset House, which, being then the fashionable building of the day, no doubt influenced the design. The basement, however, in the English example, is better proportioned to the Order; the rustication, especially of the arches, in the American building is painfully bad, and detracts greatly from the beauty of the whole. The great features, however, of the Capitol are the splendid ranges of porticoes of free-standing pillars which adorn all its fronts, especially the eastern, and the magnificent flights of steps that lead up to them. 148 Corinthian columns are so employed, each 30 feet in height, exclusive of the box bases, which had far better been omitted; while their pediments, and the various breaks in the building, give a variety of outline to the whole, and a play of light and shade hardly to be found in any other building of its class.

[1] Owen's 'Hints on Public Architecture,' p. 9. 4to. New York, 1849.

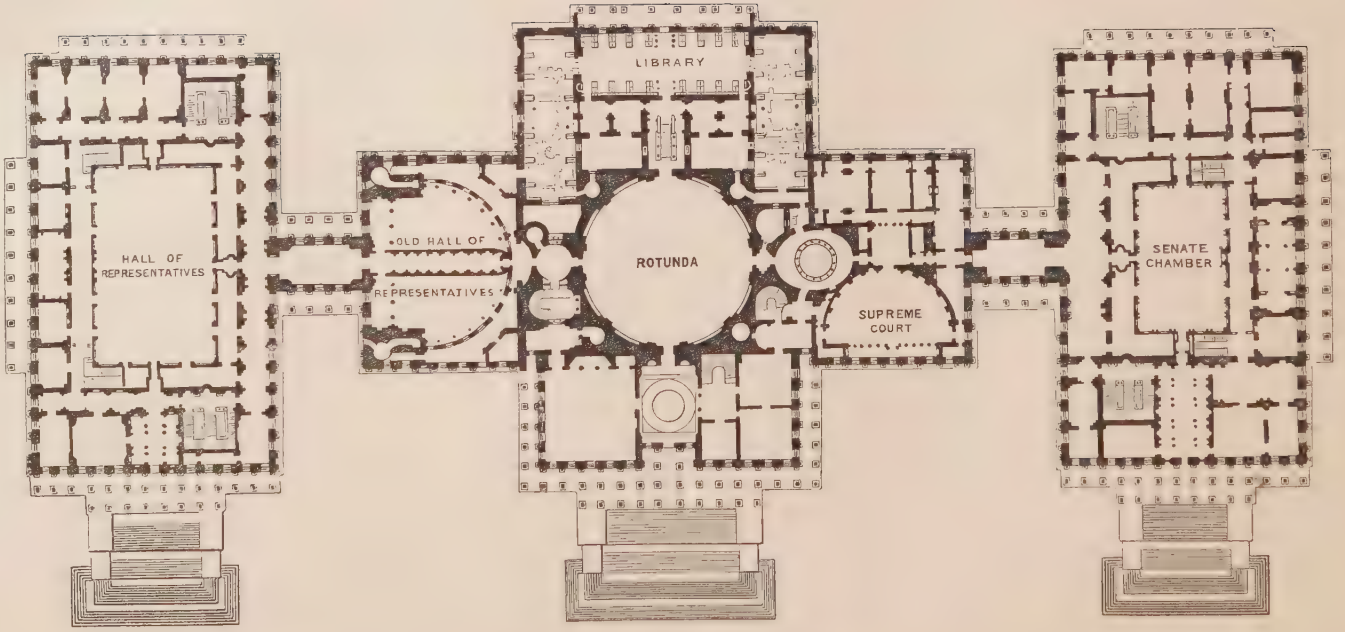
The great feature of the whole, however, is the dome, shown in elevation and section in the woodcut on page 503. The total height from the ground-line to the apex of the statue is 287 ft. 5 in., and the internal diameter of the rotunda is 94 ft. 2 in.[1] It is thus rather more than one-tenth less than our St. Paul's, from which it is evidently copied, but in some other respects its design may be considered as equal if not superior. Its stylobate certainly is better than that of any dome of its class yet executed, and on the whole it certainly rises as pleasingly from its substructure as any similar dome. One of its most remarkable peculiarities is that the whole above the stylobate



284. Plan of the Original Capitol at Washington. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

is of cast or wrought iron. No wood and no stone is used anywhere. The absence of the former material certainly insures it against fire; but it was an unpardonable error to employ forms so purely lithic and so appropriate to stone architecture, and that too only, if iron was to be used. As it is, however, the Corinthian pillars of the peristyle with their entablature, and all the external and internal ornaments up to the statue of Columbia, are only cast iron painted in imitation of stone. When the Capitol was originally commenced, a dome something of this form and of these dimensions no doubt formed part of

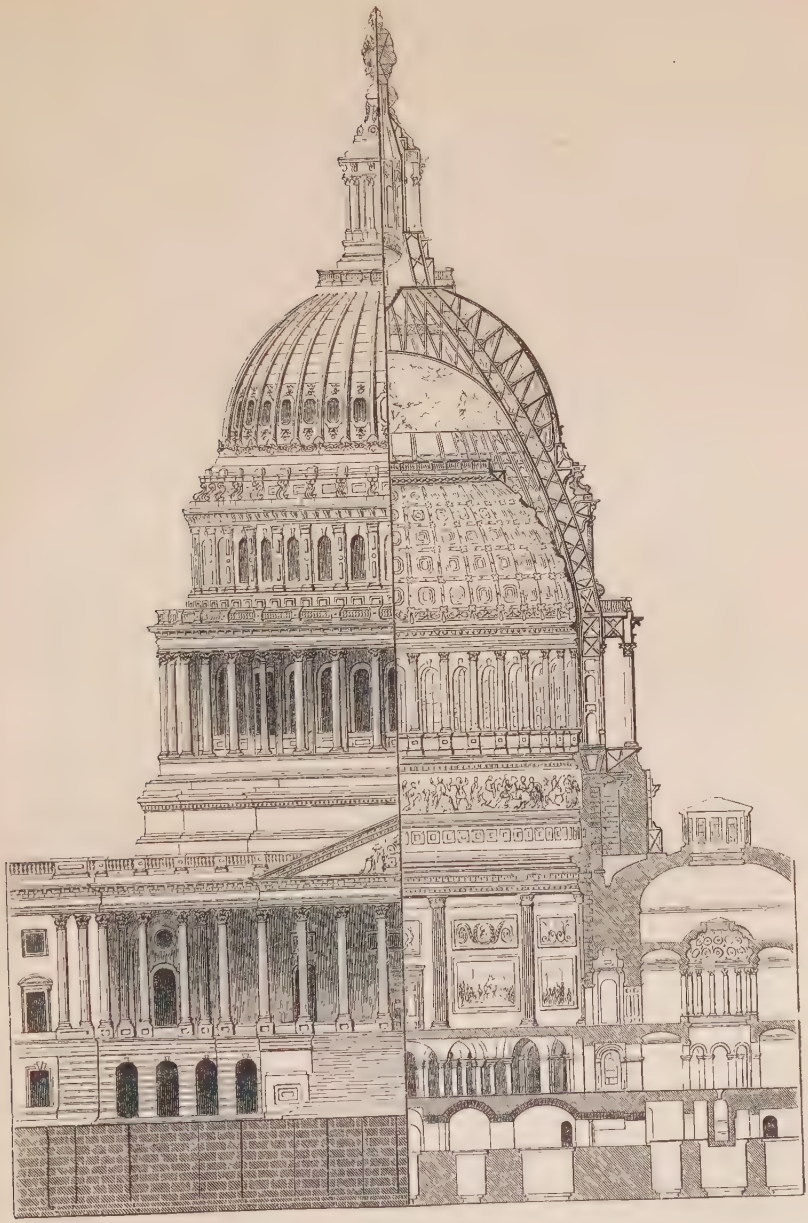
[1] These dimensions, with the woodcuts now given, may, I believe, be absolutely depended upon. They are taken from photographs of the original working drawings, kindly procured for me by my friend Dr. Percy.



285.

Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Plan of Capitol at Washington as it will be when completed. The central projection with its thirty-eight columns is not yet carried out, but remains as shewn in the Plan 284 and the View 287.



286. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.
Half Elevation, half Section, of the Capitol at Washington, from Official Plans.

the design; but then it was intended, of course, to be in stone and wood, like that of St. Paul's. When, however, it was determined to substitute iron it was undoubtedly a mistake not at once to introduce forms

more appropriate to the material. Had they, for instance, adopted a cone like that erected by Mr. Scott Russell for the Vienna Exhibition, they might have had a hall at least twice the diameter, and quite as capable of ornamental effect as this, for far less money, and one that would not in any way have interfered with the effect of the building, which this one does to a considerable extent.

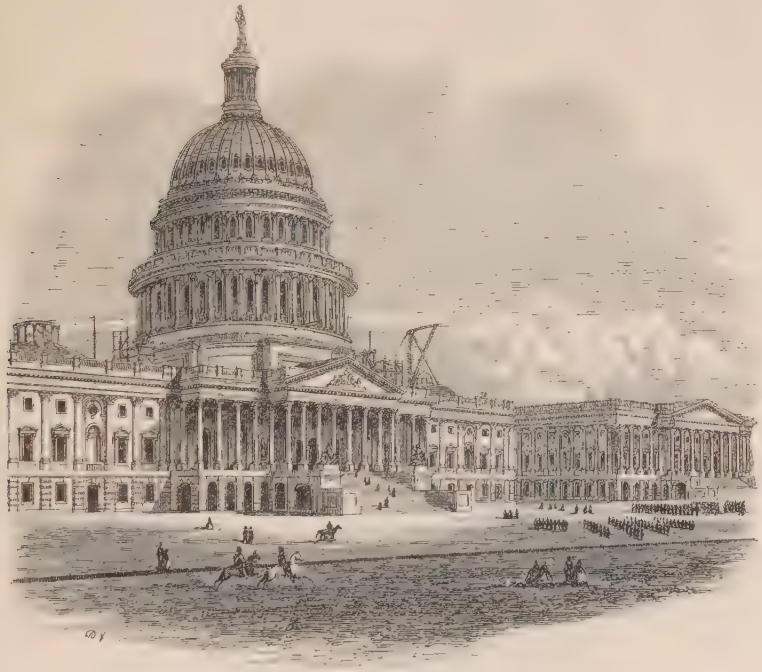
Internally, the Rotunda is certainly even much less successful than it is externally. In the first place, a circular room 94 ft. in diameter, with only four small doors leading into it 10 and 13 ft. high and 4 and 6 ft. wide, while the room itself is 180 feet in height, is an architectural solecism that no amount of art could redeem; and in this instance the extreme plainness of the lower part—there are only twelve very commonplace pilasters with a few panels—compared with the richness of the upper part, renders the absurdity still more glaring. If Barry's central hall of our Parliament Houses (Woodcut No. 218) had only been a little more equal to it in horizontal dimensions, it would have been as superior to this in proportion, in arrangement of parts, and in ornamentation, as it is possible to conceive one design surpassing another.

It would be extremely interesting if it were possible to institute a comparison between the Capitol at Washington and our own Parliament Houses. Their purposes are identical, their dimensions not dissimilar, and their ages near enough for them to be called buildings of the same generation. Notwithstanding this, the whole principle on which the one is designed is so unlike that of the other, that it is hardly possible to compare the one with the other. It is like comparing the Parthenon at Athens with St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Their dimensions are nearly the same, the intercolumniations alike, the purposes identical, but how can a comparison be instituted? In the one the exterior is the main feature, in the other it is the interior. The one is remarkable for its simple purity, the other for its complex variety; while the feelings the one was erected to express are as nearly diametrically opposed as can be to those portrayed in the other.

There are the same differences between the two buildings now under discussion, though arising only from fashion, not from faith. The Roman was the style in vogue when the Capitol was designed, the Gothic when the Parliament Houses were commenced,[1] and it was this fashion, and not the fitness of either style, that governed the design. It thus happens that a comparison between the two buildings hardly aids in settling the question whether the Classic or Gothic is best suited for the purpose, the fact being that both are wrong; and we cannot consequently institute any reasonable comparison between

[1] By the time Parliament Houses become necessities at St. Petersburgh, it is probable that Chinese will be the fashionable style, in Russia at least, and that her senate will sit in a proper Dragon Hall. It can hardly be said that this would be much more absurd than the American and English anachronisms.

them in this respect. On one point, however, we can see how both erred from mistaken ambition based on ill-understood principles. Barry ruined his design from introducing a Brobdingnagian tower, in three storeys 300 ft. in height, attached to façades of three and four storeys, but hardly reaching 100 ft. in height. It was proclaiming the war of the pigmies and giants, which could only end in being ridiculous. Had he doubled the diameter of his central hall, and doubled the height of the spire over it (see Woodcut No. 218), it would have interfered with nothing, but have added dignity to his

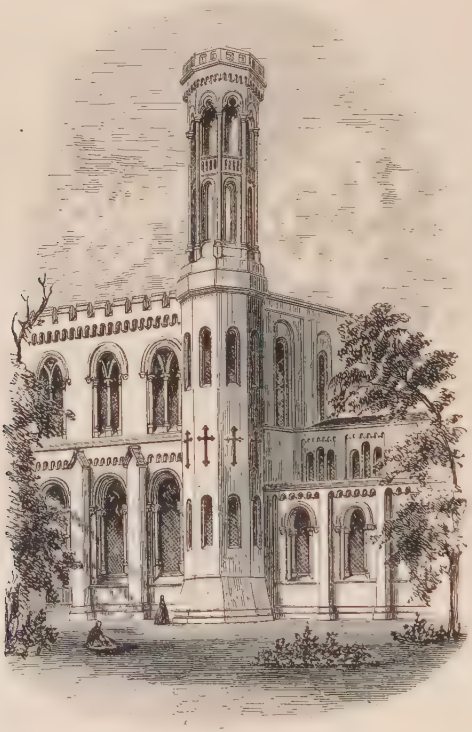


287. View of the Capitol at Washington, as it now is.

building. So would a high iron structure to the Capitol, however high or large it might be; but to add a dome nearly as large as that of our St. Paul's to a building which is everywhere seen to be only a three-storeyed civic edifice, was simply to crush the whole, and make that look insignificant[1] which might otherwise have been quite dignified enough for its purposes.

[1] A curious illustration of this may be seen in London. The hospital of Bethlehem had originally only a portico in its centre, of no great beauty certainly, but pleasing because well proportioned to the building. Latterly a dome has been erected over it, much in the same proportion to it as the Washington dome is to its portico. The outlines of the building may be improved by the addition, but the portico is crushed and had better be removed.

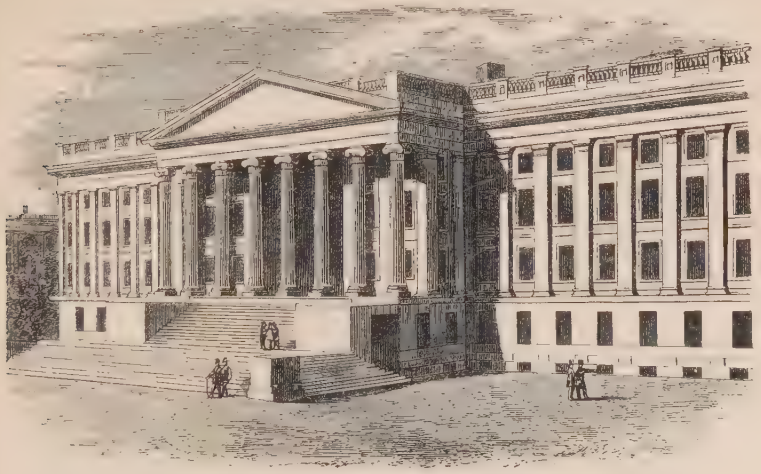
Taking it all in all, however, there are few buildings erected in modern times which possess to a greater extent than the Capitol at Washington appropriateness of purpose combined with the dignity necessary for the senate house of a great nation. It has not the variety and richness of detail of our Parliament Houses, but it is a far statelier building, and its faults are those of the age in which it was commenced, and which have tied the hands of subsequent architects, and prevented them from using the improvements that have since been introduced in the arts of design ; but it wants only a very little to enable it to attain a very high rank among the buildings of its class in other parts of the world.



288. Tower of Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

The Smithsonian Institute is another edifice of which the inhabitants of Washington are nearly as proud as they are of their Capitol, though it differs from that building as much as any one can differ from another—rude, irregular Mediævalism being here thought the perfection of Art, instead of the elegant Classical formality of the Capitol. It is of considerable extent, being 447 ft. long, with an average breadth of about 66 ; and one of the towers—there are eight or ten of these, of various shapes and sizes—reaches a height of 141 ft.

Its general plan is that of an abbey church; the centre block—the nave—is occupied by the Library below, the Museum above. The transept contains the mineralogical collection and the Regent's rooms; what appears at one end to be an apsidal chapel externally, turns out to be a Gallery of Art, and this is balanced at the other end by a group of lecture-rooms and other conveniences. The style is Norman, though of a class that would have astonished a baron or a bishop of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and resembles one of their buildings as much as the Pavilion at Brighton resembles the tomb of Muckdoom Shah Dowlut, from which it is said to be copied. The annexed woodcut, representing an octagonal tower at the junction of the Library and Art Gallery, is a fair illustration of the style. It is one of the best of those which are supposed to adorn the building.



289. New Treasury Buildings, Washington. From a Photograph.

In wonderful contrast to the broken outline and studied irregularity of the Smithsonian Institute is the cold machine-designed uniformity of the Treasury Buildings just completed in the same city.

In this country we are generally content with putting two storeys of windows under one storey of pillars, though, once the pillars become merely an ornament, there does not seem any greater incongruity in putting a dozen. In the present instance there are three of very commonplace design, and without any apparent connection with the Order or the Order with them; there is nothing, in fact, to redeem this design from the merest commonplace—no beauty of form or of outline—and the portico in no way harmonises with the wings. It is, however, far more appropriate to a city designed after the fashion of a chess board, than such an irregular building as the Smithsonian Institute.

CHAPTER V.

PHILADELPHIA, &c.

Another educational institution, of which the Americans are equally proud, is the Girard College, Philadelphia. It is designed on principles so totally different from those that governed the design of the Smithsonian Institute, that either the word Architecture has a thousand meanings, or those who built it did not understand the term. In this instance, instead of florid Norman, the exterior is that of a



290. Girard College, Philadelphia.

Roman temple 218 ft. long, but with the rather disproportionate excess in width of 159 ft. The columns are 6 ft. in diameter and 55 in height. Being of marble, it would really be a very fair kind of Walhalla, were it not that where the Cella ought to have been, we have instead a very ordinary commonplace two-storeyed college building enclosed in a cage of pillars.

The United States Bank in the same city is a grand Grecian Doric temple—at one end at least—but with the same two storeys throughout in the Cella, with the additional incongruity that the upper storey has small, square, bedroom-like windows, which give a great appearance of meanness to the whole. Though the Exchange of Philadelphia possesses all these solecisms, it is a far more pleasing specimen. Its

circular colonnade, its belfry and general arrangement, evince an amount of thought and design seldom found in this country, and, the details being Corinthian, it is saved from either vulgarity or meanness, though it has not any real architectural importance.

There are a number of buildings of this class in the various cities of the Union, some of which are big, some rich, but not one, so far as is known in Europe, either remarkable for the design of its outline or the appropriateness of its details. The edifices on which the Americans have lavished their utmost energies are the State Capitols, in which the representatives of each of the independent States meet in Parliament.



291. State Capitol, Ohio.

One of the most recent and most admired, after that of Washington, is the one just completed for Ohio. This time the Order is Doric, and the design—or outline, at least—as severe as could be desired; but the usual two storeys of windows, the chimneys, and other appendages which will not be hid, betray the fact that we are not looking at a temple, but a secular building of modern date which its architect squeezed into this mould in order to save himself trouble and the necessity of thinking.

Most of the older Capitols have not the same pretensions as this one, and escape criticism accordingly; but wherever ornament is employed, it is badly executed by the hands of amateurs, and in a country where the necessary means did not exist for even architects —if they had existed—to study and to inform themselves correctly as to what was really the right and proper course to pursue.

CHAPTER VI.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

The Americans have probably even been less successful in their churches than in their secular buildings; and, considering how little ecclesiastical establishments enter into their system as compared with civil government, this is not to be wondered at.

Down to a very late period America did not possess a single church that could rank higher than an ordinary parish church of the Hawksmoor or Gibbs' school, and none so splendid as St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. George's Hanover Square, or any of our buildings of that class. Latterly, however, they have followed our footsteps in abandoning the Italian style in churches, and have adopted the so-called Gothic, though in this respect they are hardly so much advanced even now as we were twenty or thirty years ago, and are only getting through the sort of dilettanti amateur business that we shook off at that time.

The American architects, however, labour under peculiar difficulties in this respect; they have not that crowd of examples which meet an Englishman at every turn, and which he can study at all times without any effort: so that, once he has thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the old examples, it is very difficult for him to do wrong. If it were possible to conceive the Americans taking the time and trouble necessary to think out a common-sense style, this ought to be an advantage, and they might really become the authors of a new form of Art: but with a people in such a hurry it is fatal; and they not only copy, but copy without understanding—a reproach that cannot *now* be applied to our architects in this country.

One of the most ornate churches they have yet erected is the so-called Grace Church in New York. If richness of ornamentation could make a building beautiful, it certainly is applied here in abundance. But the plan of the church is a mistake. A double-aisled transept is a feature belonging only to a cathedral: as applied here it dwarfs the whole and makes the design entirely inappropriate for a moderate-sized parish church. The spire also is far too high, too large for the rest. Internally the whole is vaulted (in plaster), and every feature such as would only be applicable to a more ambitious



292. View of Grace Church, New York.

class of edifice, and, even then, hardly to be found in so late a style.

Calvary Church is a still more characteristic though much-admired example. It possesses two western spires, as at Cologne; but the open-work of the upper part is only painted deal. And the Church of the Holy Redeemer, in Third Street, in a sort of Russo-Lombardic style, it is extremely difficult to criticise.

One great attempt at originality and magnificence the Americans certainly have made in the two temples which the Mormons have designed as the high places of their religion. It is not quite clear that the Temple at Nauvoo was ever completed, though in several books illustrations of it were published. At all events, whatever was erected is now destroyed; and that at Utah, which is meant to be a great

improvement on the original design, is certainly, externally at least, the ugliest that ever was designed in any place and by any set of men for such a purpose. The dimensions of these temples in plan were, however, very considerable, and their height in proportion. That at Nauvoo, though intended, internally, to be only one hall, externally was four or five storeys in height, and resembled the Town-hall at Louvain more than any other building in Europe: but to make the resemblance at all complete, it is necessary to realize the Belgian example carried out in plaster in the details of the Strawberry Hill style of Gothic, and with every solecism which ignorance of the style and vulgarity of feeling can introduce into a design.

There is nothing in Europe so bad in an architectural point of view as these temples; but, on a small scale, many of the American churches are nearly as inartistic, though, from their less pretentious dimensions, they are not so offensive. All that, in fact, can be said with regard to them is, that, whatever faults we have committed in this respect, the Americans have exaggerated them: and the disappointing part is, that they do not evince the least tendency to shake off our errors in copying, which, in a new and free country, they might easily have done, while it must obviously be more difficult for us, where time and association have so sanctified the forms we are reproducing.

Some recent paragraphs in American papers (1873) have announced that they are erecting, or are about to erect, in New York and elsewhere, some churches which are not only to surpass all they have done in this line before in America, but also, it is hinted, set an example that Europe might follow with advantage. Let us hope it may be so, but till they publish some work with the requisite illustrations, or that photography is enlisted to supply the necessary confirmation, we must be allowed to pause before expressing any opinion regarding them.

CHAPTER VII.

RECENT ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES.

[Apology.—So much is now well known to us of the condition of Architecture in the great North American Republic, where so little seems to have been in any way appreciated twenty years ago, that a special apology ought to be offered, if only in justice to our author, for the hasty opinions which he expresses so freely. In pursuance of the plan of editorship which has been adopted, nothing of the original text has been omitted or altered; but, apart from this, it may be suggested that in the particular circumstances in which the architects of the United States are placed, comparatively relieved from the control of European tradition and discipline, remote from the influence of European example, and accustomed to great liberty of language, it is probably not to be desired by themselves that the severe but always shrewd criticisms of so plain-speaking a writer should have the vigour of their authenticity abated. Those who on one side of the ocean are proud of American development because it is their own, and those who on the other are almost as deeply interested in it because it belongs to their kindred, can equally accept and enjoy the contrast between what was thus written, certainly with sincerity, only a few years ago, and what has to be written with the same sincerity now; and perhaps it may be added that the censure of a man like Fergusson, applied as it is to America only on precisely the same grounds and for precisely the same shortcomings—and indeed in the same language—as to Europe, may possibly have more effect for good in the one case, where the mind of the artistic classes is so largely liberated from those confirmed perversities which still press all too heavily in the other.

No doubt a thoroughbred American utilitarian is a sufficiently stubborn Philistine so far as he chooses to go. But it is a great mistake to suppose that he is unable to stop where he sees reason so to do; and any fairly representative man, when he is enabled to understand that something tangible and practical in art is offered for popular gratification, enlightenment, or culture, or for patriotic pride, will probably appreciate its value to the people as a possession, an example, and an influence, a good deal more readily than a man of the same educational status in any of the old countries, excepting France alone. No one

who has ever stood on American soil, even long ago, or who has enjoyed occasional intercourse with Americans, however unassuming in respect of accomplishments, can help perceiving the undeniable fact that westward the tide of empire is still holding its way. The fact is equally undeniable, as a source of satisfaction to ourselves, that it is an Anglo-Saxon civilisation that is being developed in that wonderful land. Art tells the story; and architecture expressly, as it always does.

Early Condition of American Architecture.—Up to the early part of the present century the Architecture of the United States, it will be frankly confessed, had not very much merit; but it may be said fairly enough that in England the art was not so very much farther advanced as it ought to have been. When Trinity Church in the Broadway of New York (Plate 292*a*) was finished by Upjohn about 1843, it was the only example of Gothic work in the country that possessed the imperfect merits of the ordinary English church-work of the day—which Pugin, by the way, was then so vehemently denouncing. Ecclesiastical design generally—all "denominations" being both free and equal in the most generous sense of the terms—was of the simple utilitarian English Nonconformist Order: exhibiting in some cases good substantial quasi-academical style, more frequently the style of the quakerish meeting-house, occasionally not despising a cast iron steeple (as in Plate 292), and very frequently indeed resting content with boarding for the walls and with shingles for the roof. In the Northern cities there were public buildings of the standard European type, with a Palladian façade, a Greek portico, an Egyptian pronaos, or anything else that took one's fancy in the books. Great hotels, although not so large as those of later date, were of the ordinary barrack order; and stores—that is, shops and warehouses—and private dwellings were sometimes built of stone or brick in the common English way, and sometimes of wooden framework and boarding. In the Southern States, the chief difference was that the ancestral families more frequently possessed country residences, and occasionally town-houses, which in their way, and on a small scale, were more like those of the English gentry; the ecclesiastical and municipal edifices being very much the same as in the North. In both divisions of the country alike, professional architects were few in number, and decidedly backward in artistic education.

Since that time several architectural influences have been steadily at work; properly educated immigrants have come into the country; young Americans have studied in Europe; and the periodicals of England, France, and Germany—England especially—and the photographers of the whole world at large, have sent over such an abundance of illustrations of every class of artistic work as to leave nothing so far to be desired. Acting upon the peculiarly unfettered intelligence of the native Americans, these motive-powers, it is easy to



292*a*. Trinity Church, New York.

see, have produced—and must of necessity have produced—interesting and important results; and consequently, in all parts of the Union, there are now to be found American architects, and examples of American architectural work, not only in respect of individual value extremely satisfactory, but in promise even more so.

The Epoch of 1851.—The great movement of 1851 in London,

destined as it was to awaken the energies of industrial art all over the globe, made its very first impression in America. The organisation of a Universal Exhibition to be held in New York in 1853, was immediately set on foot; and if the material resources of the Old World were not at command, the mental activity and acuteness of the New went far to make up the deficiency. The effect upon architecture, although developed in an American way, has been of the same character as in England. Academical tradition, having but very feeble roots in America, was a consideration of little moment. On the other hand, the recognition of the divine right of the people at large to the possession of all that Art, amongst other things, could be made to offer them, and to its enjoyment on their own level without asking leave of some one in the air, was a doctrine that required no discussion at all. No doubt it must be admitted that the mass of the American people, in matters of Art, have moved slowly, are moving slowly still, and must continue to move slowly for some time to come; but when we look, as we have to do in all such cases, at those sections of the community which represent, albeit in a strictly popular way, its intellectual "light and leading," then it is difficult to say wherein at this moment America has any reason at all to be dissatisfied with her progress.

That the modern European style of architecture had originally to be accepted as the standard mode was matter of necessity; for the modern European form of civilisation is that phase of culture which America has historically received, and whose development on fresh and free soil —free from traditionary ideas—is one of America's tasks in future history. Nor can it be objected to by even the most ambitiously independent of her sons that the great heritage of experimental design which the nineteenth century has received from the past should constitute the material for fresh endeavours in the New World as well as in the Old. Perhaps the time may not be coming soon when the New will strike upon a novel path. Perhaps the Old may have to lead the way. The originality or new national individuality of the Anglo-Saxon race may very likely assert itself in England first, while America is yet only in a state of preparation. But the young nation can afford to wait: and if she has at last to take up, with the vigour of youth, what her forerunner is to lay down in the fatigue of age, her future career may be all the more profitable to mankind, and none the less honourable to herself. Taking the great democratic empire of the Industrial Arts as one indiscriminate total of intellectual enterprise, America is indubitably making very good, and perhaps rapid, progress; this is the real question for consideration; and it is enough to say for architecture, as only one among those Industrial Arts, if the chief of its class, that her progress is the same as in the others. In all the forms except one or two in which the influence of wealth has been exerted in modern times upon architectural art, the people of the United States have proved their

possession of the most abundant resources, and have employed them with the utmost liberality; in the building, namely, of great national establishments at the public cost, luxurious residences for private citizens, and ambitious offices for commercial corporations. The monumental palaces of ostentatious royalty, and the stupendous temples of dominating faith, they do not require.

After the War.—The great Civil War of the early eighteen hundred and sixties, with the consequent readjustment of the social conditions of the Republic, constituted the commencement of a new era of national development; and a new chapter of national culture was opened in Art as in all else. It is so clearly within the personal recollection of even young men, that it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the signally rapid progress which American artists have recently been making in emulation of the best artistic work of Europe. That painters and sculptors of the highest aspirations have made their mark in the academical exhibitions of Paris and London is well known and thoroughly appreciated; and even if it were not the rule that the Arts march together, the most cursory examination of the design of American buildings must satisfy the European critic that architects also of no less genius are busily at work in the great Transatlantic cities. With regard to the arts of detail or "minor arts" of building, the same verdict may be pronounced, if the same prominence, at least in quantity, has not yet been attained in their display; for indeed, in some of the luxurious embellishments which have been developed in the private dwellings of her millionaires, and in the grand interiors of her public resorts, it is not too much to say that all the resources of European taste have been fully and successfully employed. No doubt it has to be acknowledged that the pre-occupation of the mind of the multitude by the unparalleled energy of commercial business, as a paramount social influence, tends to some extent in a direction contrary to the beneficial influence which is produced upon the Arts of a nation by the possession of a cultured class enjoying the repose of hereditary idleness; but even this drawback does not appear to affect too seriously the success of those who as professional designers have the artistic progress of the Transatlantic commonwealth in their personal custody. The artists of the American cities, in a word, are advancing in efficiency every day, and the appreciative demand for their services is every day increasing.

It may be convenient to admit, in a sense which the reader will easily understand, that, previously to the fresh start which the United States took in the march of their history at the close of the war, the condition of architecture had not generally improved even in the principal cities. Perhaps the Girard College and the State Capitol of Ohio (Plates 290 and 291) may be taken as fair examples of the more stately class of public buildings, anomalously and often ostentatiously academical without, and commensurately inconvenient within. Even in those parts of

the country which had been comparatively recently settled, such edifices, large and costly, were frequently to be met with, having very little artistic merit even when there might be a good deal of ambition; but in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and the other chief cities, there were many edifices of less importance, and chiefly of a commercial character, which were more in conformity with what was being done in London and Paris. The style most commonly adopted in these buildings was, as matter of course, the Modern European or ordinary Italian of the books; and so far it is perhaps enough to say that the average American practitioner and the commonplace English practitioner of the provincial towns were nearly on a level. As few if any of even the leaders in London could pretend to approach in Classic work the designers of Paris, and as no Frenchman at all could profess to compare with the English church-architects in Gothic, so the Americans, who had scarcely yet begun even to appreciate the peculiar enthusiasm of either of these rival schools, were quite entitled to be content to rank with the respectable mediocrity of the world at large. Upjohn and Walter, and one or two others, had become distinguished; their names were known abroad. Several European immigrants, also, whether as masters or assistants, were beginning to make their mark; and a few native pupils were being sent to finish their education in London and Paris and to travel in Italy. But the general body of average architects consisted of the unambitious practical building-surveyors of the trade, supplying indiscriminately, by reference to precedents, indifferent Classic and still more indifferent Gothic to the order of simple men of business like themselves.

When the process of social resettlement after the war was fairly in progress, and the national mind was free to apply itself with rejuvenated vigour to matters of taste, the state of architecture in England and France was certainly peculiar. In London there was to be witnessed at the height of its bitterness the curious conflict between the Gothicists and the Classicists, which was known as "the Battle of the Styles:" and in Paris the great building enterprises of Napoleon the Third were in full career. In Germany the dilettantism of King Ludwig at Munich had died away, and the great improvements in Berlin and Vienna were yet in the future. It was the unexampled "Hausmannisation" of the French capital, therefore, and the incomprehensible struggle of the English controversialists, that chiefly furnished Americans with material for reflection. No Hausmann was to arise in New York; nor was there any ground in Boston upon which to establish what Scott so forcibly called the "two hostile camps" of the London Institute. The inartistic eclectic feeling of mediocre business might not long continue in entire possession of the field, but public opinion could hardly be expected to shape itself upon either the strife of æsthetic doctrinaires or the magnificence of Imperial extravagance. The endeavours of the American designers would evidently have to be pursued for a time with consider-

able patience, before the national architecture could hope to make any demonstration of individuality, or even to assert itself at all in competition with the more advanced work of the Old World.

Events move quickly, however, in America, and it was certainly not many years before the happy return of fraternity had begun to display its results in a marvellous development of national prosperity. The spread of the population over the immense territories of the west and south-west, even in its beginnings, was unexampled, and the accumulation of private wealth by commercial enterprise was almost more remarkable still. Architecture of course quickly responded to the demands of the situation. In the course of ten years or a little more we find going on in all parts of the Union, not merely large investments of capital in building, and not merely ambitious efforts in the direction of architectural embellishment, but a calm display of artistic feeling and professional artistic skill which cannot be too highly commended; and it must now be evident to all architectural critics who will take the trouble to look at current examples, whether in the actual buildings or by photographs or drawings of them, that at the present moment there are architects in practice in every quarter of the United States whose knowledge and power of design, in all its detail, and in all its available varieties, is, man for man, little if at all below the best standards of the European professions. And it may be safe to add, taking the most skilful architects of America as a body, that there is displayed in much of their work a certain artistic courage, combined with artistic good sense, which seems to be characteristic of that liberated intelligence of the Great Republic, which in so many other matters is now recognisable as one of the leading agencies in the world.

The Importation of European Styles.—The superficial extent of the territory of the United States is so vast, and the enterprise of the population is so universally distributed—there are so many States, each with its own sovereign people, its own independent idiosyncrasy, its own social conditions, its own financial resources, its own climate, its own materials, and its own architects—that it is much more difficult than in any of the European countries to survey with confidence the progress of the art. There is no metropolis, like London, Paris, Berlin, or Vienna, where the best of everything within a large radius is condensed and its control centralised. Distribution, free and equal, is the primary law of the commonwealth; the minor does not look to the major for an example, nor the new to the old. Many ambitious cities, not one, have therefore to be regarded with almost equal attention. What is more, the peculiar connection of different sections of the American people, whether by birth, education, or commercial intercourse, with all the nations of Europe severally, has this effect upon architectural style, that the several systems of England, France, Germany, Italy, and even Scandinavia, are all ready to be imported, and all to be approved. To cover so much

ground, therefore, and so much new ground, and in such novel circumstances, by describing with any minuteness or precision the advance of so subtle a thing as architectural taste, is more than can be promised here, or even attempted. But nevertheless there seem to be certain more or less striking characteristics in the general scope of American design, which may at least be commented upon in what detail is possible, if only as a critical rather than a historical exercise. America, in short, architecturally as well as otherwise, is still a new world, whose hopes and fears are mainly in the future, and whose historian must spring from the soil.

It stands to reason that the systems or styles of design which were in use in Europe should be directly imported, and that in all their detail they should be identifiable with what was being done in Europe at the time. That is to say, American architects as a school must be regarded as part and parcel of the established school of Europe—of England, France, Germany and Italy—following the practice of those countries as their own. The Americans are the Europeans in America ; and therefore, making every allowance for the independent spirit of the people, their freedom of thought, and what may consequently be called their natural desire to be original, anything short of this adherence to the custom of Europe would be so far impossible. But there is more than one way in which the imported styles might be dealt with, and the American way of dealing with them is characteristic.

There are only two distinct academical schemes of European design which have been effectively accepted in America, namely, the English and the French. The German work of the present day is not overlooked, but it is regarded as virtually the same as the French. The Italian is also viewed as the same. The French scheme in question is the Neo-Grec of the Parisian ateliers, the latest refinement of the Modern European Classic. But it does not go far in America ; the appreciation of its peculiar finesse involves too much of that special cultivation of French taste which the Americans are not disposed to undertake. The great bulk of the practical work follows the English scheme therefore ; and the reason seems chiefly to be, not only that it is less troublesome, but that it is so exceedingly comprehensive as to satisfy all demands. For the actual practice of the present day in England embraces the following elements : the academical Italian Renaissance in all its phases (the French included to a certain extent) ; the ecclesiastical Gothic of all periods, not only from England itself, but from France, Italy, and Germany ; the Romanesque as a variety of this ; Secular Gothic at large ; with Elizabethan for those who still believe in it, and for others "Queen Anne" or Flemish and North German Renaissance and Rococo generally ; besides several modes for manipulating villas, country houses, and miscellaneous suburban and rural buildings, to make them pleasant and picturesque. No other country in the world can compare with England in this respect : and when we take also

into account the fact that the popular American mind is, in spite of all its cosmopolitanism, an Anglo-Saxon mind, and an English mind, more than enough has been said to explain the reason why the practice of Architecture in the United States is almost universally based upon English practice.

The first work of the new school in the United States was Trinity Church (English Episcopalian) in New York (Plate 292*a*), which was begun about 1840 and finished about 1843. It is still regarded as one of the finest Gothic edifices in America. Although of course it has been excelled as respects style by many later examples, it was certainly very good work for its day. Before long Pugin's teaching made itself felt, but it cannot be said to have produced the effect it did in England. Young English architects of Gothic taste, such as Withers and Vaux, presently made their appearance in the chief cities; whilst native Americans, Potter, Richardson, Wight, Ware, Van Brunt, Renwick, and many others equally deserving of mention, some educated abroad but most of them at home, have worthily followed them, so that good mediæval work has been for many years at command throughout the Union to any extent that might be required.

Of other eminent men—some English, French, and German—the names may be mentioned at random of Walter (the architect of the additions to the Washington Capitol and the Girard College), Diaper, Mould, Hunt, Eidlitz, Lienau, McArthur, McLaughlin, Pryce, Robertson, Congdon, Peabody, Cabot, Hill, Post, Chandler, and so on, all good and true men and worthy of any country; under whose dexterous hands the old-fashioned character of the former American building, prosaic and dull even when on the largest scale, has completely changed, so that graceful and picturesque edifices, of all degrees of magnitude, of all classes, and of all styles, are to be found everywhere. Not that any one can venture to speak of the more commonplace American architecture as always even moderately good according to advanced standards; such would unfortunately be far from the fact, in any country; but what is remarkable in America—taking, as we ought of course to do in so new a country, not the commonplace but the best—is the fact that the public taste of so vast a territory, so new to culture, so remote from the old headquarters, and so impatient of European tradition, should be equal at all to the appreciation of the superior artistic building which for the last twenty years has been so frequently accepted.

Timber-Work and Iron.—There are two peculiar modes of construction which must be mentioned in respect of direct influence on the style of American architectural design; namely, woodwork and iron-work. Wooden buildings of the commonplace kind, constructed of timber framing covered with boarding, are in the majority in all parts of the country alike except the leading towns, and are still considered by many to be superior in principle to the more pretentious minority called by the name of "stone houses." They are, it is argued, warmer in

winter and cooler in summer, more easily and quickly built, more easily enlarged or altered, capable of being actually moved about when necessary, and of course more economical. They are sufficiently durable also, and not much if at all in greater danger from fire. Be all this however as it may, the desire to render them decorative has been exhibited in many cases in the production of exceedingly good and characteristic designs by architects of eminence; so that it may be said with great truth that a national art of domestic timber building of the Anglo-Saxon type has begun to be created in America, the accommodation within being of the

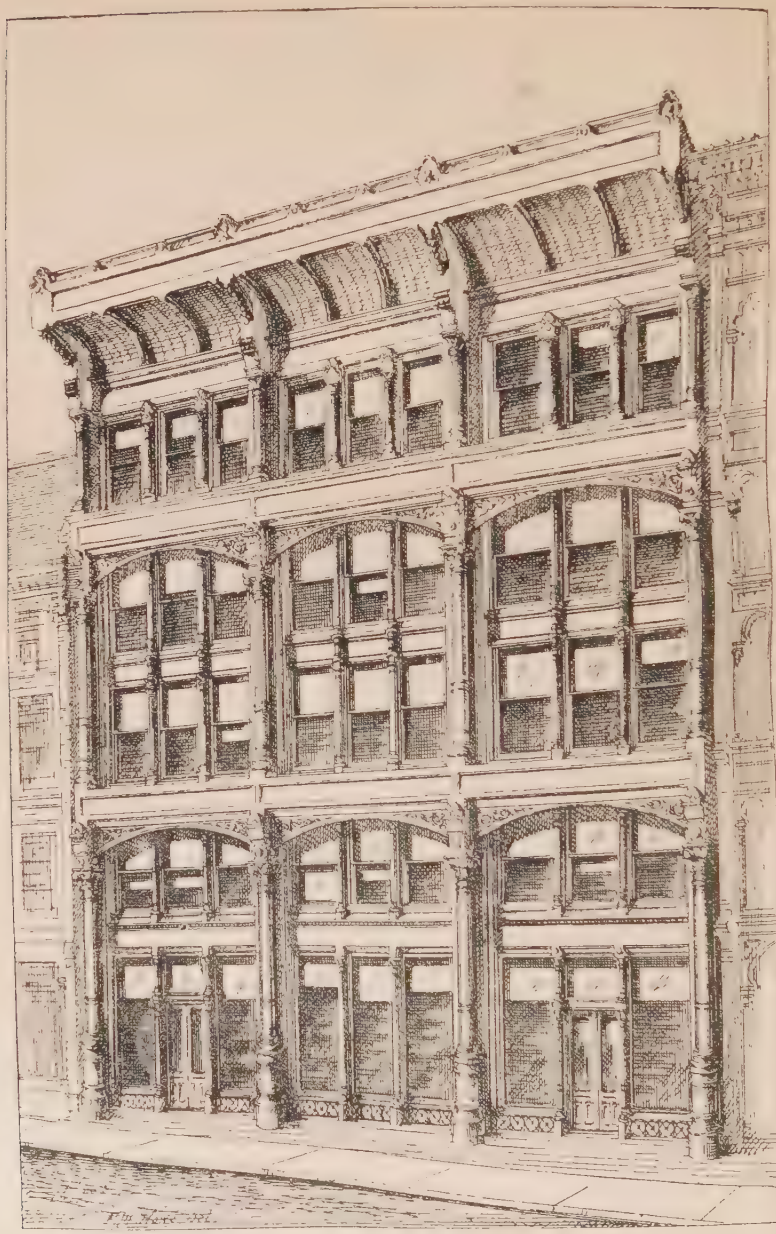


292*b*. Glenchalet.

usual English order, and the outer aspect in full accord, in many varieties, with the customary rural style of English villas. Plate 292*b*, a country retreat called Glenchalet, represents a specimen of wooden building which, although much more highly ornamental than the ordinary type, may (all the better on that account) serve to show what has actually been achieved in the most ambitious form. The design in this instance will be recognised as of the Norwegian type; but in almost all cases the style which is being developed is indigenous to the country, not following even such a mode as the old English timber-work, but rather seeking, with very moderate attempts at characteristic ornamen-

tation, to make the "frame house" more substantial and presentable as a permanent institution, a thing which it is by no means difficult to do.

On the other hand, as regards iron construction, the state of things is very different. The idea that iron has a "future" as a building material is one that has long been fondly entertained by many, and frequently acted upon. Cast iron has been used for framing and ornament, rolled iron also for framing, and cast iron, boiler-plate, and sheet iron in one form after another for covering. But the weak point is always the same, and always in evidence—the unfortunate facility of oxidation. With the slightest damp comes the rust, and its corrosion is as rapid and incurable as it is inevitable; at all events, no practical process of either prevention or cure has yet been contrived, except, of course, the inartistic and ineffectual expedient of continually applying fresh coatings of paint—inartistic because the authenticity of the material is effaced, and ineffectual because the corrosion still goes on. It need not be denied, of course, that in such works as bridges and extensive roof-coverings, the employment of malleable iron may be quasi-artistically dealt with easily enough; the mere features of the scientific trussing suffice to tell the tale of the material so as to satisfy the judgment, and there need not be any difficulty in producing forms and proportions that are grateful, or in accomplishing a decorative effect that is pleasing in detail; and indeed, the indispensable paint may itself become, if well considered, an additional and appropriate source of artistic adornment. When, however, the problem is how to design an iron wall, this seems to be quite another matter. A skeleton of iron-work filled in with glass may no doubt be designed quite appropriately, and, if gracefully, artistically; but it is on the face of it a sort of temporary and unsubstantial structure—a conservatory, an exhibition-building, even a market, or the like, but scarcely a house, and still less a monumental edifice. Adventurous Americans, with an evidently strong desire to utilise an inviting material, appear to have recognised this empirical principle; and the utmost length to which they have carried out any serious intention of formulating a system of iron building of a superior class is the contrivance of street fronts, chiefly for stores or warehouses. The ornamental features have been chiefly if not entirely composed of cast iron, and here and there a tasteful architect has so far achieved success as to produce harmonious proportions and decorative details; but in most cases the whole composition, as regards the language of architecture, has been only a counterfeit in metal of stone forms, and almost of stone proportions; and the judgment of the expert, therefore, is frequently not merely unsatisfied, but scandalised. In a word, to construct a framework of iron, whether cast or malleable, and fill it in with iron plates, or thin brick panelling, stone or concrete slabs, or timber work and lath and cement, does not commend itself as a recognisable form of architectural building, but rather as a makeshift; and to



202c. Iron Front, New York.

decorate it with metal ornaments makes the case worse. If iron construction really should have "a future," America is the land where it is most likely to be developed, but it may safely be said that such a future is as

yet a long way off. Plate 292*c* represents the iron façade of a business house in New York, by Hunt, which will probably be considered to be sufficiently characteristically designed as well as pleasingly proportioned and modelled. Not only has the eminent architect expressly avoided the encumbrances and embarrassments which are necessarily incidental to the acceptance of the academical features and forms of stone architecture, whether Classic or Mediæval, but he exhibits every desire to devise, and with a most judicious reticence and reserve, if not novelty, at least appropriateness. We need not grudge him the Corinthian capitals of his shafts, or the Mediæval canopy which constitutes his main cornice; and on the whole, if he does not appear to solve the problem once for all how to design an iron façade in full detail, we may at any rate admit that he has produced a composition which is decidedly unobjectionable and not inartistic, whilst so many other attempts of the same kind have been in both respects so exasperating, and especially on American ground.

The Professional Guild and Journalism.—Perhaps it may be taken as a significant circumstance—at any rate by those who cherish the doctrine that Architecture is in itself a historical record—that at the conclusion of the Civil War there was immediately set on foot a professional organization of architects for the whole Union, with a well conducted and well illustrated weekly paper, by whose means, amongst others, European critics have ever since been enabled to compare Transatlantic work with their own. The effect produced upon the practice of the art on American soil by this answer to the challenge of the European journals with their illustrations has been most salutary. There appeared at once in these American plates many examples of very good work, past, present, and imaginary; but it cannot be disputed that during subsequent years the quality of the design, and no less of the draughtsmanship, has been so steadily advancing, that it is not too much to say the English practitioner must sometimes feel inclined to envy the opportunities which are permitted on the other side of the ocean for indulging one's fancy with so much freedom from restraint.

Philistinism.—It is often suggested that the typical American is more of a confirmed Philistine, or opponent of sentimentality, than the Englishman; but this is surely a mistake. The English Philistine is an anti-sentimentalist; the American is only a non-sentimentalist. The Englishman opposes what he is weary of. He seeks in the respectable utilities and creature comforts a refuge from what he regards as the over-strained and nonsensical affectations of æsthetic doctrinaires. They are boring him for ever with the application of mere traditional and indeed obsolete principles of enjoyment, invoking artificial imagination and conventional taste, and he wishes to escape from the infliction. Amongst other things, he is able to affirm that the observant English citizen and tax-payer has, in respect of architectural display, suffered so frequently and so severely as to be able to say it has been almost invariably, and in

a direct ratio with the dignity of the enterprise. English Government building, somehow—as compared, for instance, with the corresponding business of the French—seems so seldom to come at all right in the end, and so often to go quite wrong from the beginning, that architects are obliged to console themselves with the conclusion that this must be part of the price we pay for our constitutional administration; whereas, on the other hand, the constitutional administrators—who have the advantage of the last word in all such controversies—declare that, in spite of all their business-like control, it is the architects who, whenever the idea of fine building gets into their minds, lose their heads entirely. Thus arises the well-known Philistinism of the British legislator as regards architecture especially; and perhaps the impartial criticism of cultured foreigners may be found to pronounce it excusable. But on the other side of the Atlantic the Philistine is not a positive anti-sentimentalist at all, but a negative non-sentimentalist. He is not worn-out with enjoyment, but only sceptical. Show him that the enjoyment of the Arts is real, and he will support their claims; and not for the sake of their past, but with an eye to his own future. The dead man's hand overshadows all in the Old World; in the New there is only the hand of the living.

Style.—Upon the resettlement of society, and the return of the public mind to such products of peace as Architecture, the free and independent character of American thought soon began to assert itself. It would be idle to suggest that anything of the nature of a native American style of design at once made its appearance, for that would be impossible; but the acceptance of prevailing systems was the acceptance of them all, and all at their best. Nowhere else was the variety of style in superior work so great. In fact, European practice was epitomised; and this was obviously a characteristic condition of things. There was a large quantity of inferior work, of course (as there must be everywhere), of which we say nothing; and there was a very creditable proportion of mediocre work, entitled to almost more respect than in Europe; but there was also a considerable amount of superior work, and this exhibited the English, French, and German modes all in perfection. Some have called it a mere medley of imitation; but as soon as the European styles began to act upon each other, a process of development came into view. Its manifestation followed two lines in particular, namely, a special attention to the grace of grouping—derived from the French—and a courageous emulation of the bolder effects of Mediæval work, derived from the English; both of these objects being assisted to the utmost by a combination of the best characteristics of French and English draughtsmanship.

The modern English architect, as a rule, is not merely neglectful of grouping as matter of education, but in a certain way is incapacitated from attempting it by a habit of excessive economy in respect of land. There is, consequently, a certain want of foothold and of elbow-room which

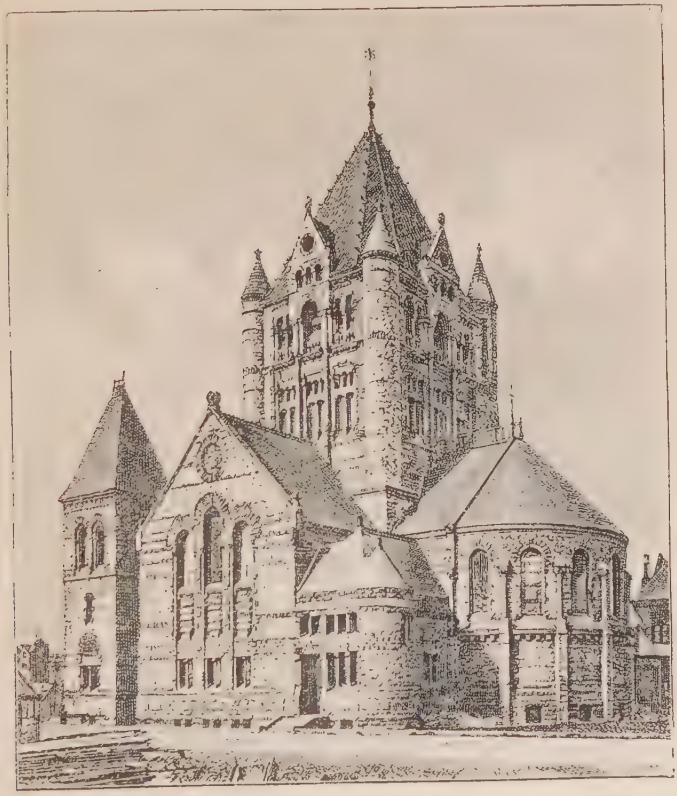
has become almost characteristic of even superior English buildings everywhere; while on the Continent this parsimony of space has never been permitted to prevail to the same extent. In America also, although crowding to the utmost is no doubt well understood in some parts of the great towns, yet elsewhere there seems to be a better appreciation of the grace of spaciousness. The sense of amplitude in a new country, and the expansiveness of national spirit in a young community, seem to exercise a beneficial influence over the architect's instincts. There is also another element in recent English design which the Americans generally have declined to accept, namely, the fashion—for it is nothing more—of attaching a tower to the extremity of a composition, a thing which in most cases is apt to prove fatal to the principle of repose in grouping. Barry's Houses of Parliament, with the Victoria Tower at one extreme corner and the Clock Tower at the other, constitute a most extraordinary example of this eccentricity, and probably led the fashion which has been so widely followed in England ever since. The real effect of such an arrangement is little else than to direct attention demonstratively to that consideration which is the very least of all in artistic importance, namely, the mere size of the ground plan. French or Italian, or even German architects of high class, do not allow themselves to scatter their composition in such a way; and the Mediæval designers never did so intentionally. As a rule, it will be found that the Americans have preferred the same attitude, and have indeed specially cultivated, even in small rural villas and other minor works, essentially English otherwise, the proper finesse of pyramidal effect, which is always so satisfactory to the eye.

Richardson.—The peculiar form in which the imitation of the bolder forms of Continental European Gothic has been adopted by certain American designers during the last twenty years is another very remarkable circumstance; and the mention of the name of Richardson will serve to indicate more precisely what is here alluded to. Richardson in America has received the distinguished honour of being canonised, after the manner of Burges and Street in England. Like both of those able artists, he died in middle age, and at the height of his mental power and personal influence as a leader in ambitious artistic effort. Although he had not been much engaged upon the very largest class of public works, he left behind him a considerable number of buildings possessing a certain novel individuality of style, exceedingly robust in character, generally graceful, and in a certain way professing to be nationally American. He also had many pupils and many admirers, and therefore not a few imitators; so that he is considered to have founded a school. But there is an interesting critical lesson to be learnt here. If architectural originality were possible anywhere at the present time it might be in America; and Richardson might very likely have been the man to be original; but it is quite enough if we are able to say that he derived his

inspiration from an unusual source, and employed his imitative genius in an unusual manner. What he seems to have done historically was this—he grasped the spirit of the Romanesque, and adapted it to the state of feeling of the Northern States. After a national death struggle, in which Spartan and Puritan endurance had with great difficulty gained the victory, the Northern people were in no sportive or smiling mood—in no way disposed towards the elegancies. The bent of Richardson's mind as a student in Paris had gone of itself in the same sombre direction. He delighted in the heavy round archways of the early Mediæval modes, the broad blank walls, the excoriated masonry, the massive, muscular, gladiator-like crudities of the times when neither Church nor State had arrived at the enjoyment of purple and fine linen—the times when France and Germany were young, like America now. When he commenced practice he had for his competitors exotic English Gothicists, exotic French Neo-Greeks, and miscellaneous native American "Modern Europeans" and Eclectics; and he seems to have felt that all were very well in their way, but none in harmony with the temper of the passing hour on American ground. What he desired to do, apparently, was not to challenge these with a palpably exotic Romanesque, but to offer in their company a sort of old Puritanical European—no matter how inspired—no matter from what part of the universal inheritance of Art derived—an adventurous peculiarity of treatment brought out of the Old World into the New, but by no means taken from the bookshelves cut and dry. This he seems to have done, moreover, wholly without that violence and aggressiveness which characterised the proceedings of Pugin and Street in England and their followers, and which occasioned the Battle of the Styles. There was no such conflict in America; and there has been no Richardson in England, nor any innovation like his. He was a Burges puritanised; but Burges was not a Richardson.

Perhaps no artistic contrast could possibly be more striking than that which exists between those two Anglo-Saxon fashions of the present moment—the Richardson style in America, and the "Queen Anne" in England; the one based upon the crude muscularity of the period which immediately preceded the Middle Ages; the other on the medley of *bric-à-brac* into which the Middle Ages, when quite decrepit, eventually passed: the one wielding in heroic joy the huge rough scabbled masonry of Titans; the other genteelly picking its way amidst paltry red brickwork and the decayed garniture of brokers' shops. The manner of Richardson is worthy of the name of an original American style if the Americans are pleased to say so. Its primary elements are these: rough rustic stonework for the wall-facing wherever eligible; exceedingly bold and massive Romanesque detail, Italian, French, or Spanish at pleasure; the wide, heavy, low-browed, semicircular-arched doorway, as a specially favourite feature, with its deep voussoirs strongly emphasised and its

dark shadowy porch within—the focus of the composition and the foundation of its motive; then the arcade to correspond; the campanile rising like a cliff in unbroken breadth and stern repose, but surmounted, if you will, by what elegancy may suit the purpose of the moment; the range of windows as a crude colonnade, columnar arcade, or the like, in long unbroken line; the crux-tower hugely large and low (see Plate 292*d*); the semicircular apse, or staircase, or turret, or what not, boldly prominent in the façade; and, if it can be accomplished, the use of



292*d*. Trinity Church, Boston.

various colours in the stonework. To all this Richardson added occasionally the ungroupable corner tower; and some of his work has no base; but such treatment is in neither case characteristic of his style. In his interiors his ambition was precisely the same—to put the work into strong naked health and honesty rather than into any dainty and attenuated attire. It may be added that he had a constitutional dislike for the standard French mode, of which he had seen so much in Paris; that he did not find much to admire in the current English work; and that his personal taste was not ecclesiastical. He was all American and

non-academical; and in that light particularly we ought to read his work and be prepared to recognise its artistic influence.

Trinity Church, Boston, is regarded by many to be Richardson's



leading production (No. 292*d*). That it is a work of refined intellectuality will scarcely be affirmed; but the muscularity of it, its courageous defiance of even Gothic delicacies, its reliance upon

the spectator's sense of mere vigorous manhood, are everywhere remarkable.

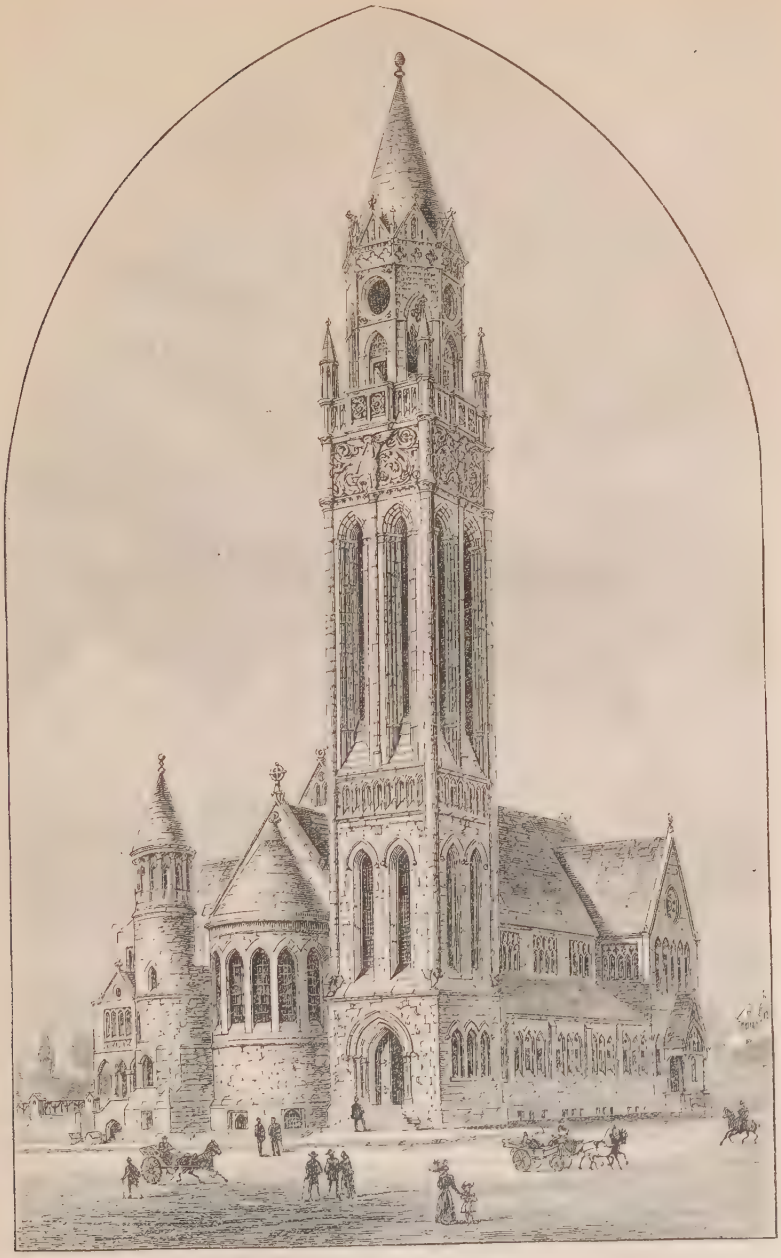
The Wynn Memorial Library (No. 292*e*) is a much more characteristic work of Richardson's, and will probably be pronounced by most readers to be a design of extraordinary power, originality, and elegance combined. The use of very rough-dressed stone facing is here conspicuous, the scale of the building being small. Whether the crocketed roofs are to be admired, even as an additional element of rude muscularity, may be questioned.

The cavernous entrance-porch which is identified with Richardson's style is not illustrated in either of these examples, but the idea has laid hold upon the American mind very forcibly. It is not uncommon for architects of the later Richardsonian school, notably in domestic buildings of an importance quite insufficient for such demonstrativeness, to recess the doorway several feet, and give access to it by a single archway in the flush front wall, in height scarcely raised above the semicircle, and serving no purpose but to render the door as dark and dismal as the gateway of a prison might be, so that one is inclined to look for the portcullis. If the reader will imagine the porch of the Wynn Library (No. 292*e*) to be divested of its side lights altogether, and the front archway made a semicircle, with the springing about a yard above the ground line, this would make it a fashionable American porch, especially if we add the deep Spanish arch-stones. The muscularity of the idea is undeniable, but the affectation is palpable.

Ecclesiastical Design.—In proceeding to speak more in detail of the actual craftsmanship of architecture in the United States during the last five-and-twenty years, it is natural, as it is customary, to draw a strong line of demarcation between ecclesiastical and secular work. But this distinction does not exist in the form to which we are accustomed in Europe. There is no National Church, not even a dominant sect, not even a militant sect, not even a popular sect, not even a fashionable sect, but all divisions agree to dwell together in a harmony of mutual non-interference which in England it is impossible to conceive. The consequence is that one ecclesiastical edifice differs from another only according to the wealth of the congregations, no distinction of any kind between consecrated church and unconsecrated chapel being ever heard of in public opinion; and the result in respect of architectural design is exactly what might be expected. As an almost invariable rule the churches are of any comfortable plan of interior that may suit the convenience of the audience and the preacher—one can scarcely say the ritual or ceremonial, far less the obligations of tradition or ancient history. The style in the best examples is Gothic, and seems likely so to continue in concert with the present indiscriminate English custom. Most of the designs are of poor merit; but very many are on a creditable average, and some are exceedingly good. The treatment is



292*f*. Roman Catholic Cathedral, New York.



292*g*. St. James's Church, New York.

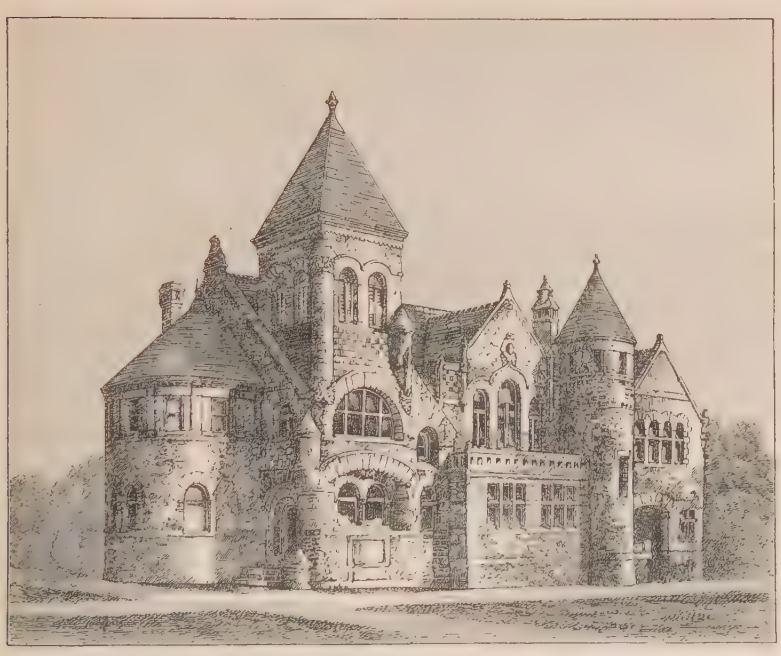
sometimes, however, as free as the sects are equal; and the prominently unconventional work is often amongst the best. Showy ambition is not altogether uncommon (See No. 292*f*); and luxurious furniture gives to



292*h*. Methodist Church, New York.

the interiors a charming appearance of domesticity which would horrify those good people here who prefer discomfort at church as a foil to the enjoyments of home. The Episcopalians, of the English National Church

and others, are not to any great extent bound by the English form of plan; but they possess many examples of good academical Gothic. The Roman Catholics have built equally academically, and sometimes under English architects such as the Pugins. But otherwise the rule is liberty of taste; and perhaps the most interesting circumstance connected with this attitude is a frequent dislike for the pointed arch. Bold round-arch Gothic—not Romanesque—seems to be almost a standing problem for development (Nos. 292*h* and 292*i*), the rose window being a favourite feature. No doubt this condition of practice is due to a definite national feeling; and we may perhaps identify it with the instinct of



292*i*. Church at Ann-Arbor, Michigan.

practical and positive modernisation which is naturally essential to the country. Some of the rural church work, again, is very good Gothicised timber-work; a highly creditable circumstance critically where wooden building has to be so much adopted. During the last few years the design and execution of details have also been improving very greatly. As would be supposed, some of the churches are designed in various phases of Classic style, but generally without novelty. The Jewish synagogues are somewhat affectedly Byzantine. Speaking at large, American originality often carries with it palpable crudeness; but there is a certain prominent solidity of motive which is always a redeeming characteristic. A comparison of Upjohn's Trinity Church in New York

(Plate 292*a*, 1840–45) and Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston (No. 292*d*, 1872–76) as two masterpieces of American ecclesiastical building, makes a suggestive study.

Secular Gothic.—The Secular Gothic in America is seldom praiseworthy; it followed upon English precedents, and was always a few years behind them: generally it was no worse, frequently quite as good, and never any better. All this is as we should expect. When, however, the Mediævalist mode has been employed in the railroad stations, it seems to have blossomed out into a good deal of vulgarity. This also we might perhaps expect: at any rate an American, if not an Englishman, will at once admit that there is no very clear connection between the rackety business of the modern iron horse and the solemn conditions of the ancient cloister. By the way, it is observable that in Secular, as in Ecclesiastical Gothic, the round arch is very decidedly preferred to the pointed. It need scarcely be added that American Secular Gothic is often exceedingly free and easy, and that, even when so far successful, it is necessarily crude; but here again it has to be acknowledged that there is a certain absence of thinness, wiriness, and "legginess," which enables it to compare favourably with some of our most popular work of the same class in England.

The Ordinary Classic.—The most common public buildings during the last quarter of a century have been State Capitols or Parliament-houses, court-houses and post-offices (generally combined), custom-houses, hospitals, colleges, asylums, libraries, art-galleries, and other such establishments, and great hotels. These have been generally designed after the Modern European Classic; and the banks, insurance-offices, and other edifices of importance for commercial business, have been usually of a similar style. But here again freedom from academical restraint has been the order of the day; for the sanctity of colourless commonplace authenticity, which in England is a fixed principle, is no more regarded in America than the sanctity of any other inconvenience. On the whole, however, the result has been not unsatisfactory; and indeed in a majority of instances the buildings belonging to the Government will be found to be eminently well designed, and certainly no worse, possibly better, than corresponding edifices in England. This is no doubt due to the influence of the education of so many American pupils in Paris. At the same time it cannot be affirmed that modern French work is popular in America: the national taste seems to be English. The feminine finesse of the French detail, charming as it is, may be said always to pall upon the ruder taste of the Anglo-Saxon, as if wanting in virile vigour; and this comes to be all the more observable in what is practically an Anglo-Saxon land with the backwoods still extant. To put the case otherwise, it is as if the busy American finds it much too troublesome to thread his way through Parisian elegancies, and prefers the easier task of grasping in a moment

the more muscular if less refined graces, more stimulating if less permanently satisfying, of the English taste. But even if it be so, there can be little doubt of this, for instance—that the detached buildings, in American minor towns, show a frequent improvement upon the English; and this most notably, perhaps, in the article of grouping, whether of masses or of features, in which the French so much excel. Moreover, the American seems to permit himself to be habitually a man of large ideas; so that the architect is not so much afraid as in England lest his pencil should run away with him, or his client trip him up for extravagance. It is not that judicious economy can be disregarded anywhere, but there is a sort of cheeseparing admitted too generally into English architecture which is no part of judicious economy; it is a gratuitous and wholly vicious instinct of parsimony, and there is an appearance in American work of this vice being comparatively absent as a governing principle in what ought to be superior work. Every one knows how the French complete their buildings fully, carvings and sculptures included; while the English seem to take a strange delight in demonstratively leaving them unfinished and bankrupt, with empty niches, unoccupied pedestals, truncated towers, unfurnished panels, and actually uncut bosses and corbels. The Americans at least show a rational desire to round off their work creditably, and avoid beforehand what profusion they cannot afford, rather than put themselves in the mean position of having brought their banking account to an unexpected end.

In the more common street building of the cities, amidst a great deal of inferior design, whether mistaken, or meagre, or no design at all, there is evidenced, in comparatively more instances perhaps than in England, a disposition to make a considerable display in the architecture of warehouses, stores, mills, manufactories, and private people's "Buildings," including "Apartment houses," or great blocks divided into suites of rooms for residences. In all such edifices, no doubt, the freedom of the national character is apt to exhibit itself in a little advertising, and sometimes a good deal; but it may be argued that, so long as this is kept within proper bounds, it is obviously the lifeblood of private architecture. At any rate, the work that is produced in this way is often not only courageous, but exceedingly meritorious (see Plate 292*k*); and that is the real question to be considered. A certain repose is still found to prevail in most cases of importance, and a largeness of ideas, we might almost say a certain dignified gravity. Rustic masonry of the Richardsonian style is occasionally used. Iron façades, on the other hand, although sometimes sufficiently well devised by accomplished architects, are quite as frequently the fantastic and anomalous attempts of more original because less thoughtful persons. Generally speaking, the individuality of manner in street architecture, which in England is made a matter of congratulation, while in France

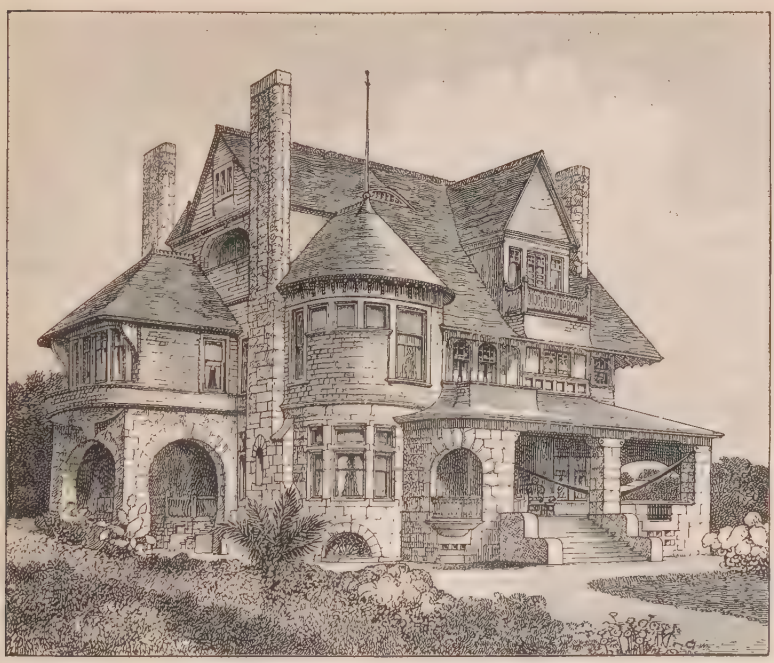


292*k*. Ames Building, New York.

it is so very much subdued for the sake of harmony in the general effect, is in American towns quite unrestrained. How far it is critically correct to constitute a town an architectural museum, in which the greatest amount of variety of style in the examples shall be held to

constitute the strongest claim to approbation, is a question that seems to be worthy of discussion in England; but in American cities the confusion is much greater than in England, although the worst of it will no doubt gradually disappear as the average of artistic skill improves.

The suburban and rural Domestic Architecture of America has advanced more remarkably than any other branch of the art. Villas of moderate size have become very numerous, and they often exhibit both an ingenious variety and an artistic courage in a very remarkable degree. Plate 292*l* shows the boldness with which a small villa can be treated even in far distant California. More recently the larger fortunes



292*l*. House at Los Angeles, California.

of mercantile speculators have induced the building of what are already called country seats, some of which have become not only of large dimensions, but of highly decorative character both without and within. The English motives of design have been almost universally accepted, with liberal and often highly advantageous modifications. The effect of masterly draughtsmanship has also been very remarkable indeed, producing, not only well composed and especially well grouped designs, but graceful, piquant, and original developments in all directions. No doubt there is a good deal that is rather hyper-picturesque, especially sometimes in the article of roofs; but the timber work is of a very advanced order, bold, novel, and even richly ornamental.

Lately the "Queen Anne" fashion has been to some extent favoured, but its quaintness cannot be said to suit the sobriety of the national mind; it is weak, and if it claims to be jesting, it is not in the American way.

Interior work and furniture have been progressing very much after the English manner, and the minor arts have been acquiring moral courage, grace, and popularity.

Competition contests are frequent, and they appear to be applied to smaller business than in England. Some of the designs are exceedingly good examples of composition; and, inasmuch as artistic ambition is so much less restrained than with us, it will be all the more readily believed that the designs which are unsuccessful because of being too ambitious are often of very high merit indeed.

It may be a fit conclusion to these observations on the recent architecture of the New World to take a glance at two or three questions which may induce the reader, whether across the ocean or at home, to reflect upon the future prospects of the art.

By Whom is Architecture Appreciated?—It is well known how little the architectural design of buildings is "understanded of the people." In respect of those intricate considerations of expression, form, proportion, and decorative treatment, which constitute the work of the architect, who besides himself recognises them? Observe what amazing blunders are committed, as mere matter of course, by the inexpert, even when the enthusiasm of the connoisseur is at its very best. The pencil of an accomplished painter, except in such rare instances as a Canaletti or a Roberts, wanders aimlessly over the delineation of simple details which are before his very eyes at the moment. Even the measuring surveyor and the builder are helpless, when only called upon to select a moulding. Learned dilettanti are equally at fault, even when posing as critics. Of journalists it is best to say nothing. But it is dangerous even to trust the professional designer of furniture and ornaments whenever a point of architecture is in question seriously. And how entirely ignorant of its finesse are those who have all Art at their personal command—princes, patricians, leaders of the world of wealth and leisure, grace and luxury! In short, when we grasp the fact how completely the professional community of architects is constituted, by even a very moderate training, a close corporation, and its work a "mystery," so that an intelligent pupil of eighteen is the master, not only of the doctor or the lawyer, but of an archbishop or a Minister of State, does not this question arise, as possibly an urgent one in these plain-speaking days—By whom is it that architecture is actually appreciated? In other words, what is the real social position of this matter of designing? Who are they that read its language? What of those who cannot? What is public opinion entitled to say about it, and what not entitled to say?

It is at the same time a curious fact that the successful artist is very rarely a successful critic. Just as the combination of the scientific temperament and the poetic temperament—as in the case of Goethe—is so seldom met with, even in a moderate degree, so also it seems to be a natural law of intellect that the sometimes small amount of imagination which qualifies a man to be a practical architect is quite enough to involve the absence of that perhaps not very great amount of the analytical faculty which is required by the critic. Thus it is that the two best known systems of criticism have in fact acquired their value—no proper value in either case. The one of these is judgment by precedent, the mode of the industrious copyist. The other is judgment by instinct, the way of the person of taste. The copyist satisfies himself by referring to his books; the person of taste likes or dislikes, and knows not why.

If, then, the authority of precedent is falling into disuse, is it the authority of mere liking and disliking that is to govern Architecture? Let us hope not, but still let us look at the matter anxiously. It is the providers of the money who must approve or disapprove the design, and the way in which they come to their conclusion is all important. It is the public satisfaction or dissatisfaction which must be the ultimate test of architectural success, and yet the public know absolutely nothing about the matter!

In Paris there are certain large sections of the public who, although they may not be able to criticise architectural detail architecturally, have been so accustomed from time immemorial to take an interest in academical art of every kind, and to engage freely in the discussion of artistic merit and demerit in every form, that their opinions upon architectural design, although logically quite empirical, are practically perfectly sound. Their likes and dislikes are not scientifically arrived at, but they are the results of a species of personal experience which in some things is more reliable than even scientific argument. A French architect, therefore, who is perfectly sure that his work is good, may be equally sure that the public will pronounce it good.

But it is by no means so in England or America; even the most cultured connoisseurs cannot be depended upon, and the architect who is properly conscious of merit must look for its recognition to his professional brethren, with a very small commonwealth of allies who, if they cannot lead, can intelligently follow. It is for this reason, perhaps, that our Anglo-Saxon architecture is often so carelessly designed, even the best of it.

To educate a community up to the standard of appreciating such a recondite matter as architectural design is a thing that cannot be done in a hurry; but the time may come when persons of culture in England and America shall be at least able to judge of it as the French do. In the meantime what is the architect to do? Perhaps the answer is that

he is to do his best and so leave it. Occasionally we have seen a case in which a practitioner, anxious for either profit or fame, has sacrificed his own better tastes to gain the approbation of the unintelligent; but, in England at least, this is not the way a compromise of the artistic conscience is generally made by architects; the more prevalent sin of that kind goes no farther than a too great readiness to fall in with the latest fashion. No doubt every man of business must be allowed to do the best he can for himself; but if he can permit himself at the same time to do the best he can for the honour of his craft, it is not likely that he will lose by it in the end. One more word that may be added is, that no architect is worthy of the name of artist who is not personally solicitous about every detail of his work.

Architectural Scepticism.—We are accustomed to say that these are the days of free inquiry, and we all profess to approve of liberty of opinion if expressed without offence. In such a subject as Architecture the student may safely be encouraged, therefore, to think for himself a good deal. We certainly do not find too many instances in which this leads the practical man into grave error; for the actual work of designing a building is far too difficult a task for the designer, and too serious a matter for the paymaster, to admit of self-sufficient incompetence readily obtaining an opportunity for attitudinising. On the contrary, the complaint is made every day, in spite of all our pains, that there is too much sameness in English buildings of every class, for a generation which exhibits so great an aptitude for the enjoyment of variety in other matters of taste. There is consequently no substantial danger at all in architectural free-thinking being cultivated by the young—and, for that matter, by their seniors. Inasmuch as at the present moment there are not even any agreed canons of criticism upon which English or American youth may exercise its gifts of unbelief, individuality, if not positive originality, is exceptionally favoured. How then do we stand as regards practical scepticism? The answer may probably be that we do not seem to do ourselves credit in this respect. True, the typical Englishman or American is not a sceptic by nature, as the Frenchman is, and as the German is. His formulas of public opinion and private duty are cautious, commonsensible, and conservative; he prefers something like certainty to anything like uncertainty. But observe in Architecture how the mercurial Frenchman adheres to rule, and denies himself the characteristic satisfaction of remodelling constituted authority. Observe also how the explorations of the architectural mind in Germany stop far short of introducing first principles in practice. May we say that the critical instinct of the French designer is so well satisfied, and so justly, with his own modes, that there is no room for speculative misgivings? Or that the philosophical faculty of the German is not so much occupied with abstract principles as to compromise the secondary problems of actual

work? Or perhaps that the intellectual speculations of the one and the intuitive perceptions of the other arrive at the same simple result—that the painstaking but liberally free development of the standard and therefore true Modern European is the legitimate work of all modern architects alike who would be practical men?

What turn, then, ought architectural scepticism to take in America? Probably the best answer to such a question for the present is the recommendation of a more careful inquiry on the part of practical designers into the "common sense" of every feature they accept, and every detail they devise. It is not enough, for instance, patriotically to follow in the wake of even such a powerful artist as Richardson, and to think that his measure of originality is enough for this generation. Nor is it enough to seize upon any other attractive mannerism because of its novelty and apparent appropriateness to a new country. Far less is it allowable to accept a new formula of design merely because of its defiance of old formulas. The legitimate inheritance of all the ages must not be ignored or despised. To "stand in the ancient ways"—the motto of Street—is now becoming an obsolete superstition; but to forget those ancient ways is not to any one's profit. This is an age of infinite knowledge-collecting; and it is not easy to have too much of knowledge. But let us test and try it all, and hold fast to that which is good: this is the true scepticism of both Science and Art.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE.—One of the most experienced, learned, and thoughtful of English statesmen, Mr. Gladstone, has pronounced the opinion that Europe may already see in North America an immediate successor in the march of civilisation. Now civilisation goes by rule, like everything else in nature, and heredity has its full influence in governing both substance and formula. Accordingly, as the great community which calls itself the United States of North America is still essentially the foremost of English colonies, it is only a natural consequence that its present civilisation is of the English type, as we know it to be. It follows in like manner that the future of the United States will be of the same order, subject only to the law of the gradual decay of extraneous influence. Architecture, therefore, as "history in stone," will within certain limits be found to follow in America for ages to come the English form of the European manner. But what are the limiting agencies? Perhaps they are chiefly these:—the extensive use of timber-work, the unsophisticated character of the landscape and general environment, the national ingenuity, self-sufficiency, enterprise, and desire for invention, the haste of business, and the interference of other nationalities with the ancestral influence of the parent state. To appreciate these considerations we cannot do better than look at the work of Richardson. He was bred in New England, and professionally educated in Paris; he travelled for further inspiration in old England, and he began work at home at the conclusion of the

crucial episode of the great Civil War. He sought to become a typical American ; and the view which he took of the situation is very clearly shown in his work. He struck out a personal style of massive boldness, courageous ingenuity and enterprise, perfect self-confidence, and free adaptation of all he knew. He rejected relentlessly what the world of architects relied upon so implicitly, both the Classic of the French and the Gothic of the English. To make a long story short, the outcome of it was an ideal of virile muscularity of design which was novel alike to the New World and the Old, not "rough and ready," far less "rough and tumble," but rough and rude of purpose, to accord with a rising not a falling civilisation, a nationality not old and effete, weary and stumbling, but young and in a hurry, unceremoniously resolute, and looking forward with an earnest eye—always forward, never backward—puritanically despising meretriciousness, inflexibly demanding vigour. Whether he always kept his fancy under due control, never mind ; it was not likely he would ; and it was very likely indeed that his followers would be less scrupulous than himself. But does Richardson's manner supply what America wants ? There are many who will think it is at least a good beginning. His scabbled and sometimes coarsely rustic facing, for instance, his roof crocketing, his sepulchral entrance porch, and a few other somewhat assertive experiments, will no doubt be gradually modified ; but the simple, manly graciousness of his more important, if less striking, features, may not improbably retain its generous and genial influence for a long time to come. Even in such examples as the Ames Building (No. 292*k*) and the house at Los Angeles (No. 292*l*)—selected quite at random—it cannot be denied that there is to be discerned the backbone of a novel national style altogether superior in vitality to the invertebrate commonplace of which in England, and indeed elsewhere, we see so much.—Ed.]

BOOK X.

THEATRES.

No mention has been made in the previous pages of this work of the Theatres of modern times, though their importance is such that no history of Architecture could be considered complete without some reference to them. If not so important as the Mediæval Cathedrals, they at least come next to them in scale in modern times. No important capital city in Europe is without its Great Opera House; and, in addition to this, all possess several Dramatic Theatres, and even every provincial town has its place for theatrical representations as certainly as its smaller predecessor would have had its parish church. Many of these edifices cost as much to erect as their ecclesiastical prototypes in the Middle Ages, and of those on which less was expended originally it may safely be asserted that their furniture, decoration and maintenance cost more than the older buildings, many of whose purposes these less creditable institutions now fulfil.

Instead of mentioning the Theatres of each nation separately, it will be found more convenient to treat them as one group, as they have no nationality—the designs of those of Naples or St. Petersburgh being practically identical, while those of London or Paris would suit equally well for any capital in Europe; and it would be tedious to interrupt the narrative of local peculiarities in order to repeat over and over again what may be said once for all.

There is another circumstance which renders it expedient to treat of the Theatres apart from other buildings, which is, that they alone have escaped—in their internal arrangement, at least—from the influence of the copying school. It is true that, when permanent Theatres first came to be erected in modern Europe, Palladio did build one at Venice, and Serlio another at Vicenza, according to the precepts of Vitruvius; and, in the last days of his career, the former architect designed the celebrated Theatro Olympico at Vicenza, which still stands a monument of his classical taste, and boasts of being the oldest permanent theatre in Europe, at least of those built since the time of

the Romans. It was, however, also the last of its race; for, though Classicality or Mediævalism may do very well for churches, managers of theatres are in earnest, and their audiences insist on both seeing and hearing what is going on, and will not be content with being told that it is correct to sit behind a pillar where nothing can be seen, or under a roof where every sound is lost. The consequence was that architects were forced to try if they could not invent something more suitable for modern purposes than the great conch of an ancient theatre, and better and more convenient than the locale in which Mediæval mysteries were wont to be performed. The result has been that modern Theatres, so far, at least, as concerns their internal arrangements, are the only important buildings in modern times designed wholly without reference to precedent, and regarding which an architect really must think what is best to be done and how he can best do it. It hence arises that in speaking of them we must revert to our old principles of criticism, and explain their peculiarities as if they were the works of reasoning men and not the products of copying machines.

From these circumstances our Theatres would be by far the most satisfactory of our Architectural productions if it were not that, in almost all cases, economy is one of the first exigencies to be attended to. With very few exceptions Theatres are private commercial speculations got up for the purpose of making money; and even when governments assist or interfere, economy of space, if not of money, has always to be attended to, one consequence of which is that no theatre in Europe is constructed internally of such durable materials as are requisite to Architectural effect. The boxes and fittings are generally of wood, often capable of being removed, and always with a temporary look about them, very destructive of grandeur.

Notwithstanding these defects, great halls, sometimes measuring more than 100 ft. by 70 or 80, and 80 or 90 ft. in height, without any central support, decorated, with more or less elaboration, from floor to roof, must almost of necessity be objects of considerable magnificence; and when to this we add that they are all honestly designed for the purposes to which they are applied, we may turn to them with a satisfaction we can scarcely feel in contemplating the greater number of the buildings we have just been describing.

The earliest theatres of Italy or Spain were the Cortiles of the former and the Corrales of the latter country,—courtyards, surrounded by balconies or arcades from which the spectators could see or hear what passed on a temporary stage erected against one side of them, on which the simply-constructed early dramas were performed, always in broad daylight.

In France, where the climate did not so readily lend itself to out-

door representations, the earliest theatres seem to have been the tennis or racket-courts, which were admirably adapted to the purpose. A stage erected at one end, and two or three galleries at the other, with a spacious "parterre" between, enabled a considerable audience to see and hear with great facility; and, except that the receipts would be limited by the loss of the accommodation of the side boxes, this form of theatre has even now much to recommend it.

In England the cockpit or bear-garden seems to have been the earliest model, and was by no means an incapable one if properly worked out, combined as it might have been, with the galleries surrounding the courtyards of our hostelries, which was the other model at our disposal.

Except the classical theatres mentioned above as erected by Palladio and Serlio, there does not appear to have been any really permanent building in Europe for the purpose of theatrical representations until after the expiration of the 16th century. During its course, however, plays had become so important an element in the literature of almost every country in Europe, and witnessing their representation so fashionable an amusement, that it was impossible it should long remain thus. We consequently find the theatre of the Hôtel de Bourgoyne rising into great importance in Paris in 1621, and being rebuilt in 1645 with tiers of boxes, but arranged apparently on a square plan. In 1639 Richelieu built the original theatre of the Palais Royal, which was long considered the type and model to be followed in the design of such structures.

In Venice a theatre was erected in 1639, with two tiers of boxes arranged circularly round a pit sloping backwards as at present, thus really inventing the present form of theatre; and in 1675 Fontana first introduced the horseshoe form in a theatre called the Tordinoni which he erected in Rome.

In this country the first permanent theatre with boxes seems to have been the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, erected in 1662: it certainly was the first in which scenery was introduced and the other usual appliances of scenic decoration.

Fontana's invention may be said to have completed the modern theatre in all its essential parts, but it took another century before all the problems connected with the representation of a modern drama were complete. In 1754 Soufflot erected the theatre at Lyons, which was long regarded by French architects as the most perfect model of an auditory which they possessed; and in 1777 Victor Louis built the great theatre at Bordeaux, which was then, and is now externally, the very finest edifice of its class to be found in France,—it may almost be said, in Europe. About the same time (1774) Piermarini built the Scala at Milan, which is still perhaps the best lyric theatre in existence; though we had nothing to compare with these edifices

until Novosielski rebuilt the Opera House in the Haymarket, in 1790, very much as it was before it was burnt down in 1867, and Smirke and Wyatt rebuilt Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres in 1808 and 1812 respectively.

The first really important thea re in Germany was the Opera House at Berlin, built by order of Frederick the Great in 1741. In Russia the theatre is an importation of very recent date ; but being patronised by the Imperial Family and fostered with subventions from the state, the lyric theatres of St. Petersburgh and Moscow equal in extent and splendour those of any other of the capitals of Europe.

Construction of Modern Theatres.

The problems involved in the construction of a modern theatre are infinitely more complex and difficult than those presented to the designers of the theatres of the ancients. The dramas of the Greeks and Romans, or at least those which were represented in their great theatres, were of the simplest possible kind. The action took place on a pulpitum or raised platform in front of a fixed architectural screen. The dialogue was simple, rhythmical, and probably intoned, and the chorus sufficiently numerous to make their united voices heard anywhere. The class of spectacle in modern times most like these great dramas is probably the Oratorio ; and the experience gained by representations of that kind at the Crystal Palace has proved how easily a theatre could be constructed with at least a 300 feet radius (the greatest ever used by the Greeks), where 20,000 persons could be seated at their ease and still hear even the low notes of bass voices with very enjoyable distinctness ;[1] consequently, were our objects the same as those of the Greeks, the solution would be easy.

The introduction, however, of painted movable scenes, which seem first to have been invented by Baldassare Peruzzi, and used by him, in 1508, in a piece called ' La Calandra,' when it was played before Leo X., and the further development of this invention, which was so thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the age, led to the necessity of a recessed stage with a framing like that of a picture. Once arrived at this point, all the conch-like arrangements of the Classical period became inappropriate, for it was evident that only on the tennis-court plan could all see equally well into the room in which the action was taking place. As, however, a spoken dialogue can hardly be well heard at a greater distance than 75 or 80 ft., nor the expression of a countenance well appreciated beyond

[1] The Crystal Palace was not designed with any reference to such representations, and its flat floor is singularly unfavourable for the transmission of sound; but, notwithstanding this, ten or twelve thousand persons can hear even the solo parts very tolerably, and fifteen or twenty thousand can enjoy the choruses.

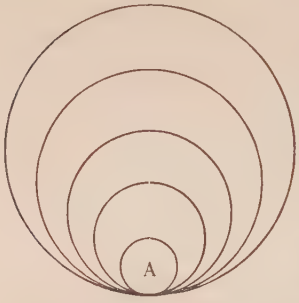
that distance, it was evident that not more than from 600 to 1000 persons could be accommodated in such a room, assuming its width to be 40 or 50 ft., which was about as much as could then be conveniently roofed over.

In order to increase the accommodation, the galleries or boxes, which had at first been only established at the far end of the hall, were carried also along the sides; and of these, two, three or even four tiers were introduced. The next improvement was rounding off the corners, until, bit by bit, and step by step, the modern auditory was invented. This may generally be taken as represented by a circle described in the front of the curtain with a diameter about double the opening of the stage. In lyric theatres, where music only is performed, and where, consequently, hearing is easier and seeing less important, the curve is elongated into an ellipse, with its major axis towards the stage, so that the number of side boxes and the depth of the pit may be considerably increased. In theatres intended only for the spoken drama, where, consequently, hearing is more difficult and distinct vision more important, the contrary process may be pursued with advantage, and the front boxes brought nearer the stage than even the circular form would demand.

The half of the circle farthest from the stage is generally allowed to remain unaltered, but the two quadrants next the curtain are opened out and bent back in a variety of curves; but, though volumes have been written, and the best architectural talent of the world has been applied experimentally to the subject, the exact form in which this should be done is far from being settled. It is exactly, however, the same class of problem as that involved in the determination of the exact curve for a ship's bow or stern, the midships section in both cases being given. Neither of these problems has yet been finally solved, and, from their nature probably never will be, as the circumstances are continually altering; but they are nevertheless both very near the best practical solution possible, and nearer it than any other problem connected with Architecture in modern times. This might be expected from the fact before noticed, that the curve of the auditory of a theatre is almost the only real question that can be submitted to the intellectual investigation of an architect at the present day. Being so, it may be worth while to try and explain briefly the principal conditions on which it rests.

If it were not that the science of acoustics is one of the least perfect branches of human knowledge, and its practical application certainly the least understood, it would be easy to explain the principles on which theatres should be arranged. But, in order to render what follows intelligible, it is necessary to say a few words as to the motion of the sound-wave. The most popular illustration of the diffusion of sound horizontally is obtained by the analogy of a stone being dropped into

a piece of still water, when circular waves radiate in every direction, till at last they die away altogether. But this involves two errors. First, to make the analogy at all represent the real circumstances of the case, the singer must be lying on his back, and sing or speak with his mouth upwards; but this is never the case; the voice is always thrown forward, and, practically, the form of the sound-wave is something very like the diagram, Woodcut No. 293, the speaker being at A. In perfectly still air and where no interruptions occur, the sound-wave would always take this form. The second error is, the assumption that sound is a succession of waves, such as those produced by dropping a stone in water, whereas the reverse is the case. The sound-wave is single, such as is produced in water by one blow or one action; and all sounds travel with a practically uniform velocity, so that each sound gets out of the way of the next that proceeds from the same source. Were it not for this, distinct articulation would be impossible.



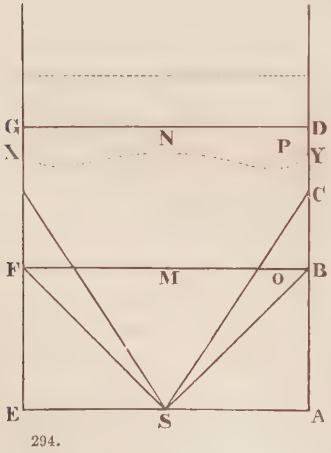
293.

Knowing the form of the sound-wave, two questions arise which are both of the greatest possible importance to the theatrical architect.

First, Are there any means by which its intensity can be increased, and its area can be extended?

Secondly, What are the circumstances which may interfere with its onward progress or its practical distinctness?

In order to answer the first, let it be supposed that a speaker or singer is standing at S in a square room, A D G E. It is found practically that all the waves impinging against the wall between A and B, or under an angle of 45 degrees, are reflected, producing confusion, but no increase of intensity. Between B and C, or up to 57 degrees, the reflexion is so slight as hardly to be objectionable. Beyond that there is no reflexion. The wave gradually assumes the form X Y, and, after travelling a little farther, becomes practically a straight line; and if confined between two walls, it will travel infinitely farther than it would do if perfectly unconfined.



294.

The practical result of this description is, that, within the square in

which the speaker is standing, no sensible increase of sound can be attained by any confinement, but great danger of confusion from reflexion. Beyond the square, the lateral limitation to dispersion becomes more and more valuable as we proceed onwards, with no danger from the reflex wave, unless from a wall at the end, from which the wave coming back meets that going forward, and may produce confusion and indistinctness to a considerable extent.

With regard to the second question, it is easy to answer, that, practically, the people sitting in the triangle S A B are in great danger of hearing very indistinctly in consequence of reflexion. If there was a wall at F B, a person at M could hardly hear distinctly; and even if G D were a wall, a person at N could only hear indistinctly in consequence of the reflex wave and the remaining slight reflexion from A B. If the sound were single, it might be only an echo; but if sounds followed one another in rapid succession, a multitude of echoes would produce practical deafness, and at O and P hearing would be almost impossible under any circumstances, but much more difficult in the former than the latter position.[1]

If, for instance, the backs of the boxes of a theatre were lined with mirrors, as has been proposed, and the fronts made of some hard polished substance, it is more than probable that the words of a quickly-spoken dialogue, or the notes of a quick piece of music, would be absolutely inaudible in even the smallest theatre; whereas, if the backs of the boxes were entirely removed, and the fronts reduced as much as possible,[2] every sound would be heard clearly and distinctly. The practical objection to this solution is, the difficulty of preventing external sounds from interrupting the audience, and the necessity of still air for distinct hearing.

The practical answer to the first question is, that very little advantage is obtained by any confinement or guidance of the sound-wave. It is true that, if a room were 50 ft. wide and 500 long, those beyond the first 100 ft. would hear better in consequence of the side walls, and those at 500 ft. might hear tolerably what without the walls they would not hear at all; but the 5000 people such a room would contain would hear infinitely better in a room 100 ft. wide by 250 long; and 10,000 might hear as well in a curvilinear-formed room, adapted especially to

[1] The only person I know of who has thoroughly investigated the motion of the sound-wave, and studied its effects, is Mr. Scott Russell, to whose researches I am mainly indebted for the above information.

[2] A curious illustration of this is quoted by Mr. Bazley, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons on dramatic literature. The theatre at Lisbon was considered one of the best in Europe; yet, after a short time, they found the sound in certain parts was lost, when it was discovered that it was in consequence of certain passages at the backs of the boxes being stopped up; and when they were reopened the power of hearing distinctly returned!

the form of a sound-wave, without any confinement, but also it must be without any reflexion.

It is the form of the latter—which is involved in the second question—which is the great difficulty of the theatrical architect; so that, after all, the answer to the inquiries is far more negative than positive. It does not result in the discovery of what should be done to increase the sound, so much as in a knowledge of what to avoid in order not to interfere with its smooth and uninterrupted progression. What an artist ought to think of when designing a theatre or concert-room is not how to increase the sound—that he may leave to itself—but how to prevent reflexion from the voice of the speaker or singer; how he may shut out external sounds; and, lastly, how he best can trap off the conversation or sound of one part of his audience so that it shall not disturb the rest—how, in fact, he can best produce a silent theatre.

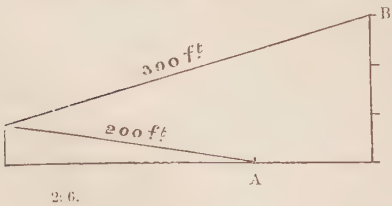
Without attempting to pursue the abstract question further, it may be asserted that the wonderful instinct of the Greeks, which enabled them always to do the very best thing possible in all that concerns Art, caused them to hit on the very best form, in plan, for the transmission of the greatest quantity of sound, with the greatest clearness, to the greatest possible number. Their mechanical appliances did not admit of their adopting a roof; but if we were now to build a place—irrespective of architectural beauty—in which 20,000 were to hear distinctly, we should adopt the plan of a Greek theatre,[1] with probably a section similar to that shown in Woodcut No. 295.



295.

The great difficulty in applying a roof is, that, if any sound is reflected back from it at an angle of 45 degrees, it produces indistinctness of hearing on the part of the audience; and it must therefore be so constructed that this shall not be the case.[2]

[1] The flat floor of the Crystal Palace is nearly fatal to its use for great numbers, as will easily be understood from the annexed diagram (Woodcut No. 296). In the first place the portion of the sound-wave that is distributed over the floor is only a very small section of the whole—not 10 degrees in 180. This would not be a disadvantage if the floor were polished glass or still water; but when it is rough with human beings a great portion is absorbed and lost, and the rest cannot travel with facility. The consequence is that a person at A, 200 ft. from the orchestra, hears very much less perfectly than one at B, 300 ft. distant.



2. 6.

[2] The great roof that has recently been erected over the Handel orchestra at Sydenham is supposed to have increased

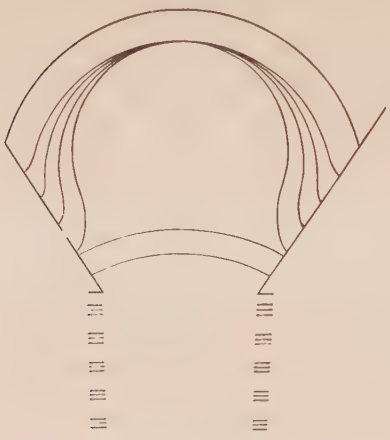
So far as mere hearing is concerned, it is only the greatest possible space within the limits of the sound-wave, in which perfectly still air and freedom from external sounds can be obtained ; but with seeing the case is different. The Greeks tried to get over this difficulty by the introduction of masks so broadly moulded as to admit of the markings being seen at a great distance ; and they elevated their actors on high-soled shoes, and used every conceivable device to make them look large ; with what degree of success we can hardly judge. We escape this difficulty, to a considerable extent, by the introduction of opera-glasses and optical contrivances ; but with all our modern science, this will probably always limit the size of the auditory of modern theatres to about 100 ft. from the curtain to the front of the opposite boxes. The consequence is, that even a lyric theatre can hardly be constructed to accommodate more than 3000 or 3500 persons. A dramatic theatre is limited to about 2000 or 2500, though a concert-room might easily be made to contain 5000 to 10,000, and a festival-hall 15,000 to 20,000 persons.

Besides these abstract questions, which arise from the natural limits to our powers of hearing or seeing distinctly, there is still another inherent on the necessity of our seeing *into* a room or enclosed stage in which the greater part of the action takes place. This does not affect either the pit or the front boxes, but it is all in all to the side boxes, which are, in fact, the great crux of the theatrical architect. These are of necessity placed so obliquely that only the persons in the front row can see at all, if the boxes are closed at the sides. If open, they see obliquely ; and, what is worse, if high up, look almost perpendicularly down on the stage, which is perhaps the most unpleasant position in which a spectator can well be placed.

This last inconvenience could be almost entirely obviated by the arrangement suggested in Woodcut No. 297, keeping the centre boxes perpendicular one over the other, which is indispensable for seeing ; and if not the best for sound, that defect may be remedied by using soft stuffs, which will absorb and so neutralise the evil effects of what ought to be transmitted. Then by throwing back each tier of side boxes till the last is a semicircle, the whole audience would sit more directly facing the stage, would look at it at a better angle, and the volume of sound be

largely the volume of sound. Its practical working, however, is this: it had absolutely no effect whatever on the solo voices or the instruments in front. It softens immensely, and increases the power of the organ placed near the roof at the back by reflecting and repeating its notes, but at so immeasurably short an interval that they reach the audience as single notes mellowed. It had a similar effect on the chorus voices at the back, reflecting them forward at imperceptible intervals, and so bringing the whole chorus more together, and delivering it to the audience as one grand voice, far more perfectly blended together than was the case before the roof was erected.

considerably increased throughout the whole house by its freer expansion immediately on leaving the stage. It would besides be an immense improvement in the appearance of the house, relieving the dull uniformity of tiers of boxes piled one over the other in unvarying monotony, and would render the construction also much easier by dispensing with the iron supports of the boxes altogether.



297.

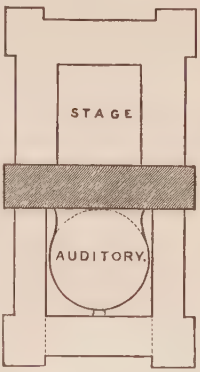
Another advantageous change will soon also be probably accomplished. A few years ago two or three rows of orchestra stalls were all that were tolerated even in our lyric theatres, and they were unknown in the play-houses; by degrees they are encroaching on the pit of these, and in our last Opera House the pit has become a nearly evanescent quantity. It is to be hoped it will soon disappear altogether, for it cannot be denied that the "parterre" is the best place for seeing and for hearing, the most easy of access, and the best ventilated. If it were so arranged as to form one with the lower tier of boxes, both being accessible through the great dress saloon, the improvement to the appearance of the house would be considerable, and the profits of the manager also probably increased.

This is not the place, however, to insist on these and other obvious ameliorations. The matter is in the hands of men of intelligence, and who have a shrewd appreciation of what is best, while there is no real obstacle in the way of progress. The Classical examples, as has just been explained, are not suitable for models; and most fortunately, there are no Gothic remains to force managers to adopt the barbarisms of the Middle Ages. The only misfortune is, that, in this country at least, economy both of space and money must always be the ruling motive in every design, as all theatres are merely private speculations. On the Continent, where the Government generally subsidises and controls, this should not be so; and if the new Opera House recently erected at Paris is not a model of all that is excellent in acoustics and beautiful in form, it will be that France does not possess an architect equal to the task. The situation is free and open, the expenditure unlimited, and all that is required is that between 2000 and 3000 persons should be so placed as to sit luxuriously and hear clearly. With the experience already gained, and the unlimited means now available, there is no problem in modern theatre-building which

should not be advanced, almost set at rest, by that great undertaking.

Although the interiors of theatres in modern Europe have, for the reasons just stated, been treated according to the principles of common sense, their exteriors have unfortunately been handed over to the "dealers in Orders" in the same manner as other civil buildings; and owing to their nature the application of these features has been generally less successful than elsewhere. The fact is, a theatre is a very multifarious building, and, in some parts at least, neither very dignified nor appropriated to dignified uses. It consequently is extremely difficult to make it look like one grand hall, which is the aim of most architects, and still more so to make it look like a Roman temple, with which it has absolutely no affinity. These difficulties, however, are entirely of the architect's own creation. The dimensions of a theatre are almost always magnificent, not only as regards length and width, but also in height, and they generally stand free and unencumbered; so that an architect is certainly to blame, if, with these materials, he cannot make an imposing design.

The difficulty which has spoiled most of the external designs of theatres is that they are composed of two very distinct parts, as will easily be understood from the annexed diagram, Woodcut No. 298. The one devoted to the audience, consisting of the auditory, the saloons, staircases, and passages—all these are on a sufficient scale and sufficiently ornamental to be treated in a dignified manner; but the other half, devoted to the stage, is surrounded by dressing-rooms, workshops, store-rooms, and offices of all sorts. These seldom require to be more than 10 or 12 ft. in height, while the saloon may be 30 or 40. Where architects have generally failed has been in the attempt to make the stage part look as dignified as the audience half, or in despair have toned down the latter to the level of the more utilitarian division.



298.

If the parts were accentuated as shown in the diagram, there is no reason why they should not be treated differently; but every reason, indeed, why this should be done: and if the whole were bound together by a bold uniform cornicione, and the angles all treated similarly, which could easily be done, there is no reason why the one part should not be ten storeys high, and the other only two or three; and if the vertical piers were sufficiently prominent and strong, the one may be made architecturally as beautiful and as dignified as the other.

In lyric theatres the central shaded division would belong to the audience part, as that is always more important in them than in dramatic theatres; in the latter it would belong to the stage, which requires a greater development; and it of course, in either of these cases, ought to be treated according as that division is designed to which it belongs.

This, unfortunately, is not the way the question has hitherto been looked at: and the consequence is, as we shall presently see, that no theatre in Europe can be considered as a perfectly successful design externally, though many, from their dimensions and the richness of their decorations, are very grand and imposing edifices.

It is only to be hoped that some architect will one day apply to the exterior of a theatre the same principles of common sense which guide him in designing the interior, and we may then see a building worthy of its age and of the art of Architecture.

Lyric Theatres.

The theatrical buildings of Modern Europe may be classified under four distinct heads :—

1. Lecture Theatres.
2. Dramatic ditto.
3. Lyric ditto.
4. Music-Halls or Concert-Rooms.

The first and last are governed by precisely the same principles, for whatever is good to speak in is also appropriate for singing, only that the greatly increased space-penetrating power of the modulated human voice enables the latter to be constructed on an immensely extended scale as compared with the former. Strange to say, although in our lecture-rooms we have generally adopted the principles of a Greek theatre, no large concert-room or music-hall except the Albert Hall has yet been constructed on the same plan.

The lyric differ from the dramatic theatres only in this: that in the former, seeing being less important and hearing more easy, their auditory may be increased in extent; and this may be done by a development of the side boxes in such a manner as would be inadmissible in a building where it is so especially necessary that everything should be seen that passes on the stage.

Were it not that the ballet is an almost invariable accompaniment to the opera, the stage in a lyric theatre might also be relatively very much diminished as compared with a dramatic; but as these spectacles require quite as much space for their display as any dramatic representation, this is not usually found to be the case.

The dimensions of the principal lyric theatres in Europe are exhibited in the following table :—

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL LYRIC THEATRES.

—	Depth from Curtain to back of Boxes.	Width across Boxes from back to back.	Width of Curtain.	Depth of Stage.	Height over Pit.	Saloon Dimensions.
	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.
La Scala, Milan	105	87	49	77	65	20× 80
San Carlo, Naples	100	85	50	74	84	..
Carlo Felice, Genoa ..	95	82	40	80	55	40× 50
New Opera House, Paris	95	82	52	98	..	130×160
Opera House, London (old)	95	75	38	45	51	22× 66
Turin Opera House	90	71	50	110	55	..
Covent Garden, London ..	89	80	47	89	70	25× 84
St. Petersburgh Opera ..	87	70	52	100	56	33× 85
Académie de Musique, Paris	85	80	41	82	65	25×190
Parma Opera	82	74	47	76	..	38× 38
Fenice, Venice	82	78	41	48	..	..
Munich Theatre	80	75	41	87	70	..
Madrid Theatre	79	89	60	55	..	..
Alexandra, Petersburgh[1]	79	73	52	82	60	38× 40
Darmstadt Opera	72	62	40	70	51	28× 56
Berlin	70	55	37	58	47	41× 80
Vienna (old)	65	55	45	72	52	..

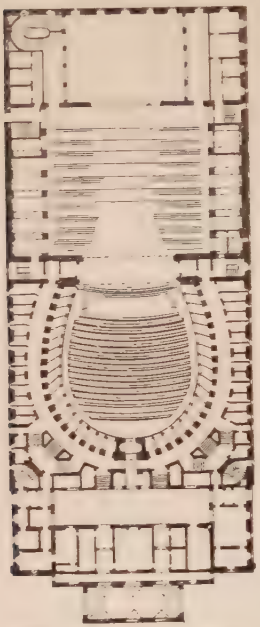
From the above table it will be perceived that there are at least six lyric theatres in Italy of the first class, and nearly of the same dimensions. The Scala at Milan is in some respects the largest of these, and is generally admitted to be the best arranged both for hearing and for seeing, so far as the last is thought indispensable for an opera-house.

As far back as 1719 Milan possessed what was then the largest theatre in Europe, erected from the design of Barbieri ; but this was entirely destroyed by fire in 1776, when the present theatre was commenced from the designs of the celebrated Piermarini, and completed in two years.

Its length is 320 ft. ; its width 130 ; and it covers consequently about 40,000 square feet, or something less than the ordinary dimensions of a Mediæval cathedral, though its cubic contents are probably more than the average of these buildings. The façade towards the

[1] The principal part of the information in this table is taken from the plates in Clement Constant's 'Parallèle des Théâtres Modernes,' one of the very best and most useful works on the subject; but the reader must be warned that there are several sources of error which it is almost impossible to guard against. First, the general incorrectness of all plans; secondly, the carelessness with which scales are too often applied, especially in French works; and lastly, that theatres are continually changing, either from being burnt down, or from improvements; for, as they are works of true Art, no one ever hesitates to improve them to any extent that may be required.

Place is more pleasing than most of the designs for theatrical façades, though of no great architectural pretensions, consisting of the usual elements: a rusticated basement, including an entresole; a principal storey, with a Corinthian Order; and an attic. As there is only one range of windows under the Order, and the parts are well proportioned to one another, all this is unobjectionable; and if the Order must be used, there was not much else to be done. But the architect's chance was on the flank. Here he built an immense wall 300 ft. long, 90 ft. high, and with nothing particular to control his arrangements except this—that in parts it is seven and eight storeys in height, and all these of nearly equal dignity, or rather equal want of it. To carry the Order of the bel étage all round was consequently out of the question; and, being checked in this, he seems to have given up the attempt in despair, and left the sides of his building looking very like a Manchester cotton-mill. Had he only grouped his openings a little, strengthened the piers between them, and added a cornice at the top, with a moderate amount of dressings to the windows, he would have produced the most original and striking façade in the city; but this would have required an amount of thought which was not then exacted from any architect, so he left it as it is—imposing from its mass, but wholly devoid of architectural merit.



299. Plan of La Scala, Milan. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

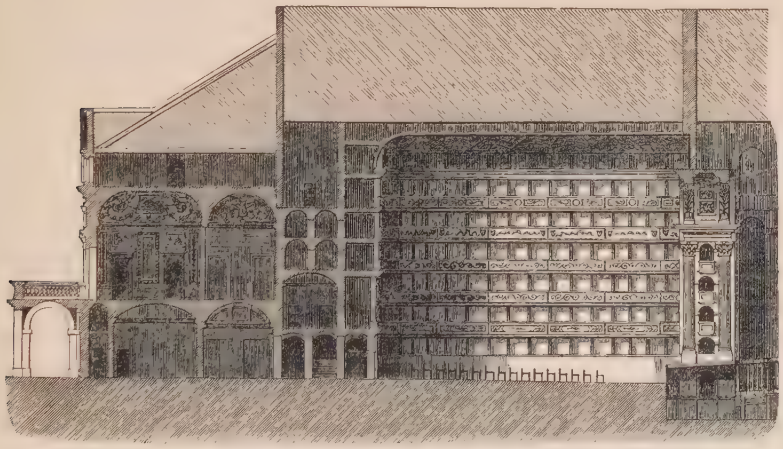
Internally, the auditory is surrounded by seven tiers of boxes, similar in extent and height, and very nearly so in design. There is no "balcon," as is usual in French theatres, and no galleries as in ours. There is no doubt that this extreme simplicity of arrangement does give a very considerable degree of grandeur to the internal appearance of the building, but it challenges also a certain monumental class of treatment in which theatres are generally very deficient: and when this simplicity is carried to the extent it is in Italy, it is not free from the reproach of monotony. Still, when lighted



300. Façade of La Scala, Milan. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

and well filled with a brilliant audience—as is generally the case—the effect of the auditory of the Scala is unsurpassed by any other theatre of Modern Europe: and its acoustic properties are also good; the greatest objection being that the boxes in the upper tiers near the stage are more than usually inconvenient for either seeing or hearing.

As will be observed from the plan, a small salon or cabinet is attached to the greater number of the boxes—not immediately, but across the passage. In one respect this is objectionable, inasmuch as, if adjoining, the anteroom is valuable in preventing the interference of external sounds; on the other hand, as situated here, each salon has access to external light and air, which in a theatre sometimes used in daylight, and in the Italian climate, is an immense advantage. The



301. Section of the Auditory of La Scala. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

existence of these seven tiers of small cabinets was one of the causes why the architect despaired of rendering the sides of his building architectural, and refrained from attempting to harmonise them with the principal façade containing the great saloon and other state apartments of the building.

Next in importance to the Scala is the San Carlo Theatre at Naples, built in 1737, and reconstructed very nearly on the same plan after the fire in 1816. Externally, its façade is by no means without originality or merit. But the height of the basement, 40 ft., is too great for that of the upper storey, which reaches only 20; and the whole height of 60 ft. is disproportioned to the other dimensions of the building. Internally, too, the size and height of the boxes are very much greater than in the Scala. There are only 6 tiers instead of 7 in height, and 28 in plan instead of 38 in each tier. This increase in their dimensions is not sufficient to give them a character of grandeur, but on the contrary, only tends to make the whole theatre

look very much smaller, besides diminishing the accommodation to a very considerable extent.

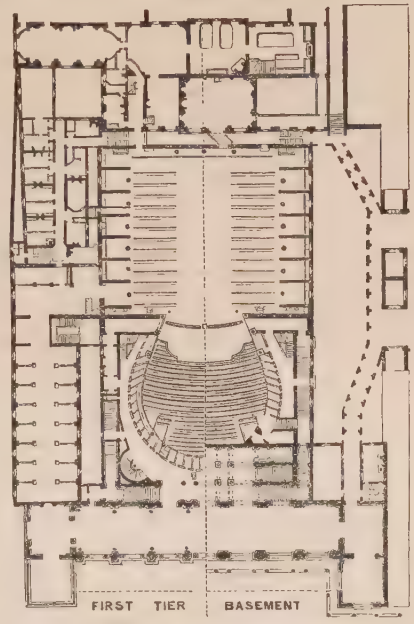
The theatre of Carlo Felice at Genoa, and that at Parma, differ very little from these except slightly in dimensions, only that they possess saloons of large dimensions and richly ornamented; and that of Turin possesses the rudiments of a gallery above the boxes.

The two great theatres of St. Petersburgh and that of Moscow are on the same scale, and arranged internally very much in the same manner, as these great Italian examples; except that in Italy there is a certain air of completeness and of fitness, as if the people and the theatre belonged to one another, which is somehow wanting in the Russian examples, and gives an exotic look to the whole. Externally, however, the Russian theatres are very grand masses: they stand perfectly free, have great porticoes of pillars at one end, not very congruous perhaps, but very large, and the whole has a dignified and imposing look; though, like most of the buildings in that country, showing very little thought, and a design that will not bear dissection.

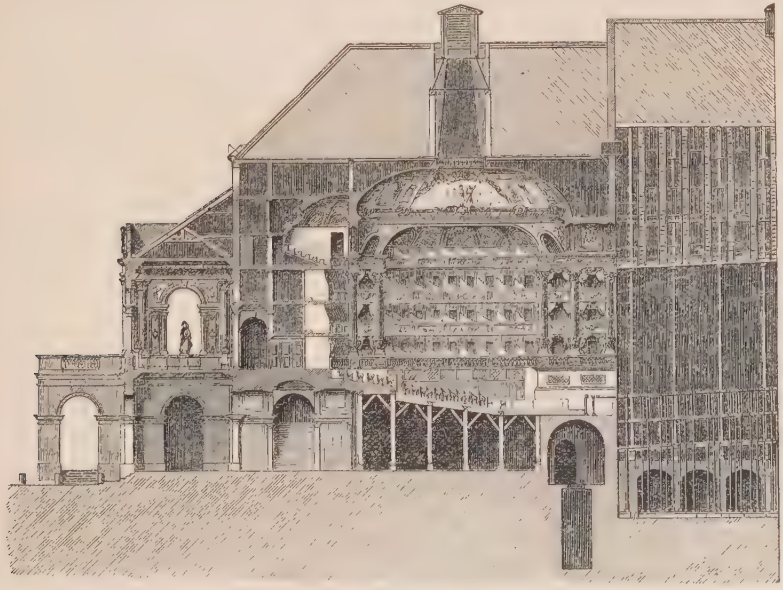
Our own Opera House, Haymarket, before the fire, was modelled on the Scala at Milan, which it resembled in most respects internally, except in the introduction of a spacious upper gallery, which to a certain extent destroys the grand simplicity of the design of its prototype; and considering the difficulties of the case, Nash probably showed more ability in fusing together the various elements he had to deal with on the exterior, than in any other design he carried out. It is not very grand, but, as more than half of the external elevations consist of shops and dwelling-houses, it was not easy to make much out of such heterogeneous materials.

The Opera House at Paris, or Académie de Musique, as it is usually called, is constructed on totally different principles from those just described. It is, in the first place, very much smaller, containing only four tiers of boxes, and these of less extent. It has besides capacious galleries. The great distinction, however, is the extent to which decoration is carried, and the immense development of the accessory apartments. It may be a question whether the four groups of pillars which are introduced to give apparent support to the dome are legitimate modes of decoration, or whether the simple outline employed by the Italians is not better. Wherever they may be placed, they must obstruct the view of a certain number of persons. But ought a great national theatre to be constructed on the simple principle of accommodating the greatest number of persons? The auditory is generally as pleasing and often as interesting a part of the entertainment as what passes on the stage; and a certain amount of decoration, even at some sacrifice of space, is surely a legitimate expenditure there. A more pertinent question is, whether that effect is best attained by introducing Corinthian columns as in the Paris

Opera House, or whether the same richness of effect might have been obtained without breaking the simple outline of the curve which is so pleasing in Italian theatres? The French alone seem to be of opinion that the introduction of pillars in this position is legitimate; and at Bordeaux, Marseilles, and other places they adhere to them, though other nations have abandoned the idea of anything so Classical in their theatres. Notwithstanding this, the house is much admired by those who frequent it for its acoustic properties, and also for the facility with which the stage can be seen; the latter quality is principally owing to the boxes being only partially instead of wholly closed, as is generally the case in Italian theatres and with us—though why we should adopt so exclusive a principle is by no



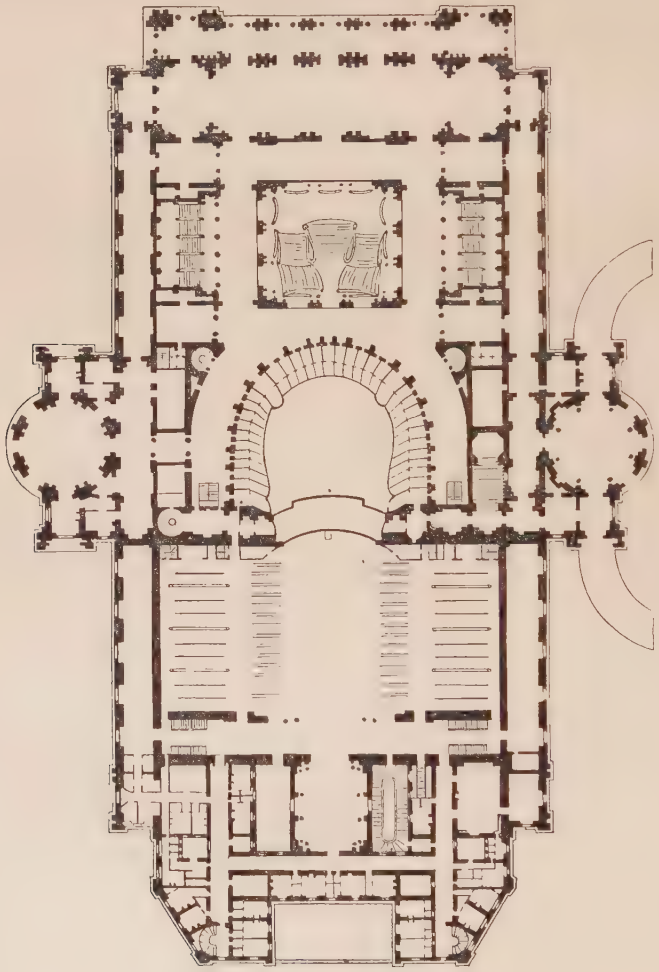
302. Plan of Académie de Musique, Paris. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.



303. Section of Académie de Musique, Paris. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

means clear, as it not only circumscribes the power of seeing but of being seen—the partial opening adding also immensely to the brilliant appearance of the house.

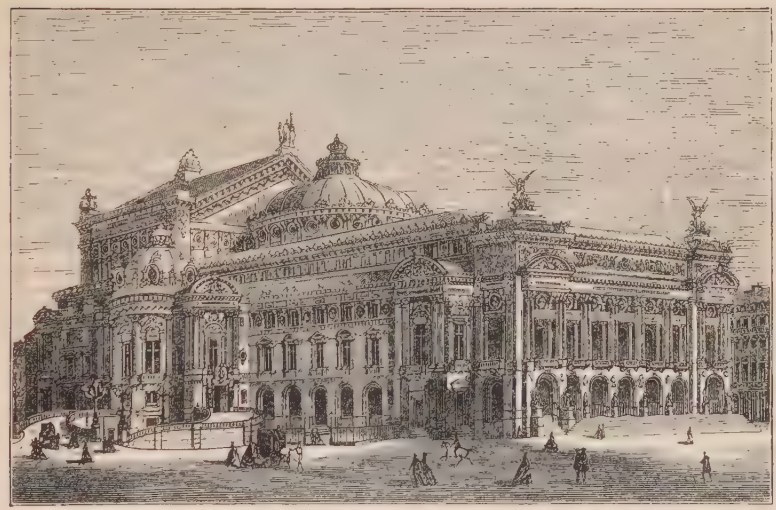
The Paris Opera House was commenced, in 1820, under the direction of M. Debret, to replace an older house pulled down in consequence of the murder of the Duc de Berry in its vestibule in that year; and, as hinted above, is now about to give way to what is intended to be the most magnificent theatre in Europe.



304. Plan of the New Opera House, Paris.

In its present unfinished state it is of course quite impossible to speak with anything like confidence of the interior of the new Opera House now in course of erection; but, as will be seen from the table on page 387 and the plan, Woodcut 304, its auditory is to be of the

usual dimensions of a first-class Opera House; but the saloon accommodation, as will be seen by the plan, is enormous, measuring practically 130 feet by 160, or 20,000 square feet. It is, in fact, meant to be a Palace of Music where fêtes and balls of all sorts can be held, rather than a simple lyric theatre. Externally, the building is 490 feet by 328 across the transepts; and as it will cost at least a million sterling, it may be said to be a larger and more important building than our St. Paul's, and is so like it in general form, barring the dome, that we might expect it to be nearly as dignified in appearance. It cannot however, be considered a success in any respect. It is rich; the ornament is appropriate, and always especially so to the parts to which it is applied—more so than perhaps in any other building of the same pretensions in Europe; but with all this, there is a want



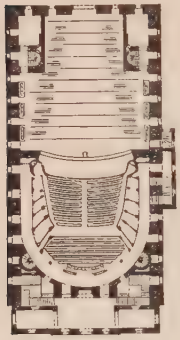
305. View of New Opera House, Paris. From the Model prepared by the Architect.

of dignity and accentuation which detracts from its apparent dimensions, and leaves a most unpleasing impression on the mind of the spectator. Without more drawings and dimensions than are yet available, it is difficult to point out where the error exactly lies, but certainly what ought to have been one of the most perfect and beautiful buildings in Europe fails to produce the effect the world was entitled to expect from the talent and money spent in its production.

At Munich there is a very large and handsome Opera House, with five tiers of boxes, which are arranged on a perfectly circular plan, more apparently with reference to architectural effect than to the more important considerations that ought to guide an architect in designing a theatre. Externally, it has the usual stereotyped plan adopted in Russia and frequently in France, of a great portico of pillars

covering two storeys of windows, with a block of plain masonry on either hand; the whole being unobjectionable, but useless and incongruous.

The Berlin Opera House was originally built by Frederick the Great, but has been entirely remodelled internally, and is now said to be one of the most comfortable houses in Europe for seeing and hearing in. It is very small, however; for, though it has a disproportionately large saloon, it does not altogether cover 20,000 ft., or half the dimensions of the Scala, and about one-fifth of that of the proposed new house in Paris.



306. Old Opera House, Vienna. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

The Old Opera House at Vienna, though small, possesses a peculiarity of plan worthy of remark. The auditory widens towards the stage, instead of contracting, as is usually the case. It is not quite clear that it could be carried out on a much larger scale; but in this instance it affords the occupants of the side boxes a far better opportunity of seeing than in most theatres. It certainly seems to be an improvement, unless it is considered that the two, or, at the utmost, the three persons occupying the front seats are those only who are practically to be taken into account in the arrangement of a lyric theatre. The result in this instance is said to be perfect, but on so small a scale it would perhaps be difficult to fail.[1]

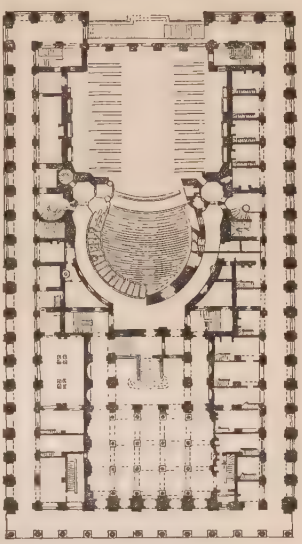
Dramatic Theatres.

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL DRAMATIC THEATRES.

——	Depth from Curtain to back of Boxes.	Width across Boxes.	Width of Curtain.	Depth of Stage.	Height over Pit.	Saloon.
	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.
Versailles	77	65	45	82	56	25×70
Marseilles	76	65	38	50	52	25×48
Historique, Paris	70	65	35	42	..	..
Drury Lane, London ..	70	70	32	48	60	26×90
Hamburgh	70	67	40	65	58	..
Bordeaux	65	64	38	70	58	45×65
Mayence	65	60	33	46	50	..
Lyons	64	66	46	75	55	28×45
Berlin (Schinkel)	61	60	36	70	45	..
Antwerp	60	58	34	58	..	..
Carlsruhe	60	66	36	50	..	45×90
Italiens, Paris	60	65	36	46	55	30×60
Haymarket, London ..	57	48	25	33	..	..
Lyceum, ditto	55	52	35	40	47	..
Adelphi, ditto	51	56	33	47	..	..

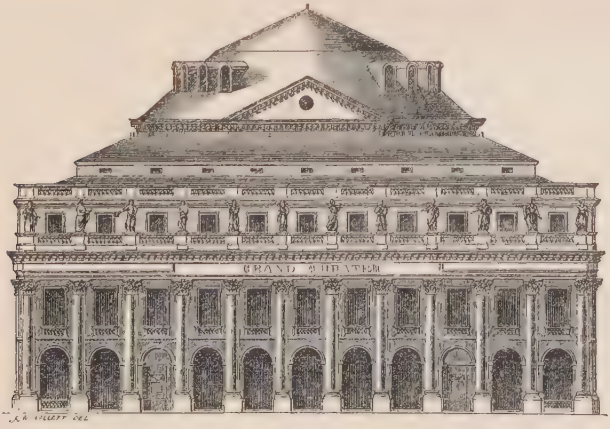
[1] I have been unable to procure any such trustworthy plans or descriptions of the New Opera House, at Vienna, as would enable me to write a description of it. It seems a first-class house in so far as size and decoration are concerned, and its arrangements are well spoken of.

The theatre at Bordeaux is certainly the most magnificent of its class in Europe, whether we consider its internal or external arrangements, though it is not so easy to decide whether or not these are always the most judicious or in the best taste. Its erection was commenced in the year 1773, from the designs of Victor Louis, on the site of a citadel that had long commanded the city, and the removal of which was then determined upon. Owing, however, to difficulties and delays that occurred during the progress of the works, which nearly drove the unfortunate architect mad, the building was only completed in 1780. Its dimensions are very considerable, being 280 ft. long by 151 in width, and consequently covering nearly 42,000 ft., or more ground than the Scala at Milan; but of this great area a much smaller portion is occupied by the auditory and stage than is usual either in lyric or dramatic theatres.



307. Plan of the Theatre at Bordeaux. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Except the Madeleine and the Bourse at Paris, there is perhaps no other building in France of the same size that carries out so completely the endeavour to look like a temple of the Romans as this one. In front there is a portico of twelve Corinthian pillars standing free; and on the flanks and rear the same Order is carried round in the form of pilasters attached to piers, but allowing of corridors of communication all round the building externally. The Order is 42 ft. in height, and



308. Principal Façade of the Theatre at Bordeaux. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

is surmounted by an attic which rather detracts from its dignity, especially as it is again surmounted by the enormous and crushing roof indispensable in a theatre. Perhaps it would have been better if the Order had been placed on a boldly-rusticated basement and the attic omitted; but every way it was an error to introduce the Order at all. It never could express the construction or the internal arrangements of the building; and, by preventing the introduction of more than three storeys in height in any part, it introduces a degree of falsehood, accompanied by inconvenience, which more than counterbalances the pleasure derived from its magnificence.

Internally, an Order has been introduced with almost equal prominence into the auditory, and with the same bad effect. It gives no

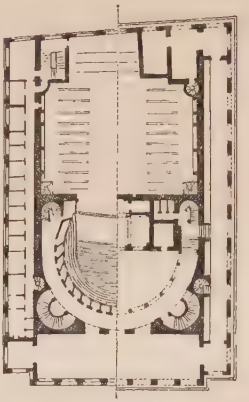


309. Section of the Auditory of the Theatre at Bordeaux. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

doubt a Classical air to the whole interior, but the second and third tiers of boxes become balconies fixed to the pillars at a third and two-thirds of their height without any bracket or apparent support. The eye of the engineer is offended that so much useful sight should be obstructed, and the artist that the construction should not be accentuated and visible. Still, of its class, it is one of the grandest to be found anywhere; and if we must be Classical and modern at the same time, it will not be easy to find a more successful compromise than the Grand Theatre at Bordeaux.

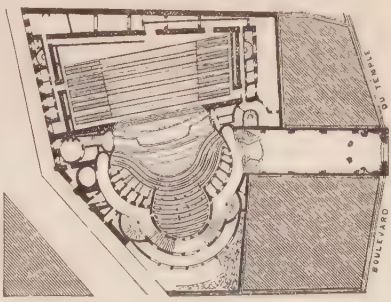
That at Lyons can by no means compete with the Bordeaux Theatre either in dimensions or in magnificence. Still it is a very fine building, and is interesting as being the first in which the present arrangement of the boxes was carried to perfection. It was commenced

in 1754, from the design of the celebrated Sufflot, the architect of the Pantheon at Paris, and was considered so successful, both for hearing and seeing and being seen, that it became the type of all future theatres in France ; and, with very slight alterations, the form then introduced continues to be followed in almost every new erection of this class. This theatre fell into decay in the beginning of this century, and was reconstructed as it now stands between the years 1826 and 1831. The plan (Woodcut No. 310) shows the building as originally constructed by Sufflot, and after all the experience we have had, it does not really seem that we have advanced much beyond the point where he left it. The whole is simply and economically arranged, all the parts well proportioned to one another and to the uses to which they are applied. The most remarkable peculiarity is, that it has a storey or saloon accessible to the public below the floor of the pit (as shown on the right-hand side of the plan), which certainly seems a convenience that would compensate the public for mounting some 15 ft. higher than they would have to do if it were omitted.



310. Theatre at Lyons, as originally constructed. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

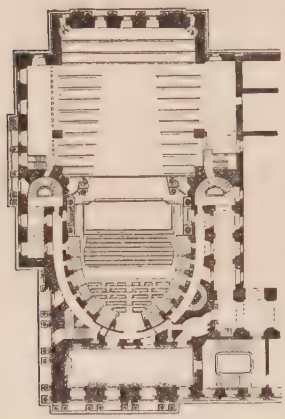
Perhaps the theatre which deviates most from the stereotyped arrangement is the Théâtre Historique, erected in Paris in 1846. In this instance the auditory is neither an ellipse with its longer axis coincident with that of the stage, as usual in lyric theatres, nor a circle, as is generally the case in those devoted to the spoken drama, but an ellipse with its major axis at right angles to that of the stage. One immense advantage gained by this is, that all the audience sit facing the proscenium, and not sideways, as is usual, and consequently see the performance with far more ease and comfort to themselves, though, it must be confessed, somewhat at the expense of the architectural effect of the auditory itself. The one question is, Can an equal number be accommodated by this arrangement as by the other ? So far as experience has yet gone, it seems that they can ; and, consequently, a tendency towards this form has been shown in some of the recent constructions both in France and in this country. In the Théâtre



311. Théâtre Historique, Paris. Scale 100 ft. to 1 inch.

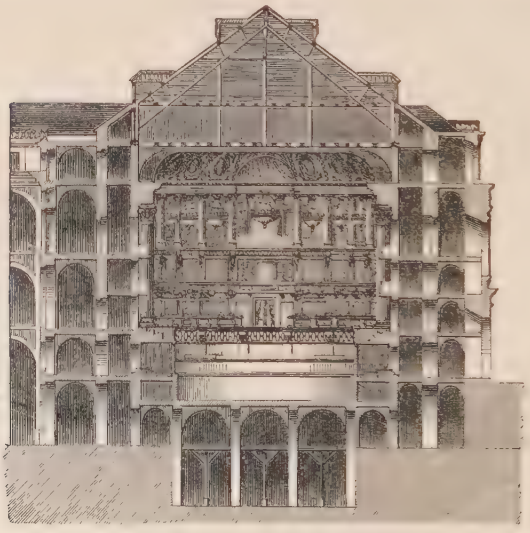
Historique the principal object aimed at was to obtain immense galleries to accommodate the class of persons who lived in the neighbourhood of the Boulevard du Temple, in which it was situated. But if the pit were converted into first-class places—as hinted above might be the case—such an arrangement would seem singularly applicable to accommodate all classes appropriately.

Besides these public theatres, France possesses what no other nation has on anything like the same scale—a private theatre in the Palace of Versailles, which, though exceptional, is perhaps on that very account the more worthy of study. The great difference between it and those we have been considering is, that it is no longer a question how to accommodate the greatest possible number; state and convenience have more to be considered than profit or loss. The consequence is, the pit is very circumscribed; but in the centre, instead of a royal box, is a grand platform, on which the king and all his courtiers could sit and be admired, while the boxes are so arranged as to complete the picture, looking more towards the real king than towards him who only "struts his hour upon the stage."



312. Theatre at Versailles. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

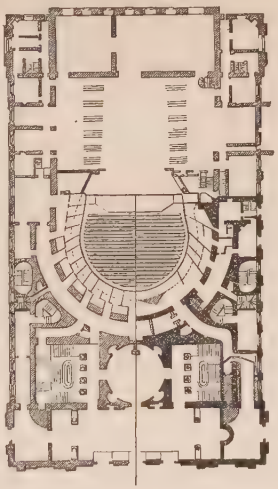
This theatre was not an original part of the palace, as constructed



313. Section of Theatre at Versailles. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

by Mansard, but was constructed from the design of Gabriel, in 1769, and restored in the reign of Louis Philippe in the manner represented in the Woodcut No. 313. Taken for what it is, it must certainly be considered as very successful; but still, where money was no object, and the number of persons to be accommodated not necessarily taken into consideration, something less like a public theatre might have been thought of—something that would have looked more like the hall of a great palace, and less like what is seen in the neighbourhood of the Boulevard St. Martin.[1]

Since the destruction of Covent Garden we have only one first-class dramatic theatre in England—that of Drury Lane. Its dimensions are 135 ft. in width, and 240 in length, covering, consequently, some 32,000 ft., which, though not so large as Bordeaux and some others, are still noble dimensions. The auditory is arranged on the circular plan, and, as there are very few closed boxes, the audience can see with tolerable facility what passes on the stage. The saloons and staircases are arranged with more dignity and on a larger scale than is likely to be again adopted in an English theatre, the class of people who frequent this part not being such as again to induce much outlay for their accommodation. This house holds conveniently some 3000 persons, which is about as large an audience as can well be present at any kind of dramatic representation in a modern theatre; and even then it can only be the grander class of tragedies or the stateliest comedies that are suitable to so large a building. All the lighter and more playful pieces are far better appreciated in smaller houses; and as these have become the most fashionable, it is not likely we shall again see houses built of these dimensions in this country.

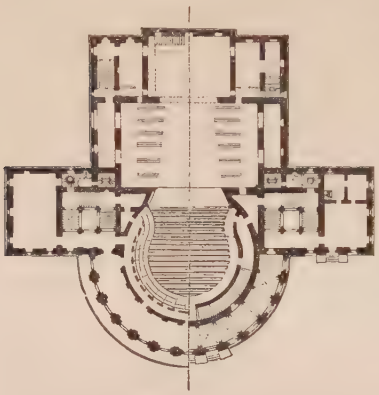


314. Plan of Drury Lane Theatre. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

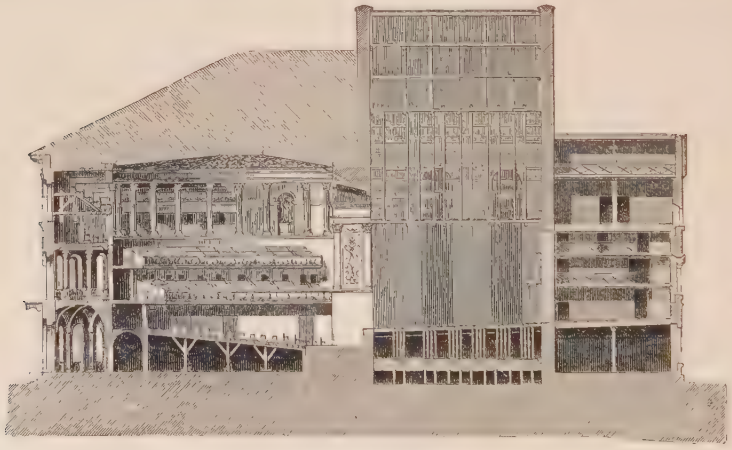
Many of the smaller theatres in London, as well as in the provinces, show not only great skill in their arrangements, but also great taste in their decoration; but they are all so economically built as hardly to come within the class of architectural objects; and even if it were otherwise, the fact of their being all either built or having assumed their present form by the hands of living architects would prevent any more detailed criticism on their merits finding a place here.

[1] This Theatre has now become, with very slight alteration, the senate-house of the French nation.

The Germans have written a great deal about the best form of theatres, but, after a very long and angry polemic, they do not seem to have arrived at any conclusions differing very materially from those which the practical sense of other nations had arrived at before they brought their learning to bear on the subject. The one point which they seem to consider as a discovery is, that truth requires that the form of a theatre externally shall express the curve of the boxes internally. The consequence is, that Semper has adopted this form at Dresden, copying it from Moller, who had introduced it at Mayence in 1829 ; and it has been adopted elsewhere, though with some modifications. In this instance, however, the truth turns out to be falsehood, or, at least, pedantry, to a considerable extent. A Classical theatre which consisted only of one great conch of concentric gradini, with all its means of



315. Theatre at Mayence. Scale 100 ft. to 1 in.



316. Section of Theatre at Mayence. Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

communication within the circle, could, in fact, be only so represented with truth on the exterior. But a modern theatre is a very different affair. The construction almost requires two staircases at the back of the boxes in the angles of the quadrants ; there must be saloons and refreshment-rooms behind the boxes, offices and apartments on the sides. In fact, a rectangular plan fits far more easily to so complicated a congeries of parts ; and to sacrifice all this convenience for the sake of

expressing externally the form of only one part, is not architectural truth. Even supposing it were so in a limited sense, and that convenience is to be sacrificed to truth, it is necessary to carry the principle much further, because three storeys, externally each 25 or 30 ft. high, do not express the three or four tiers of boxes, ranged only 10 ft. one above the other, with pit, gallery, and all the other parts of a modern auditory. This, however, is what is supposed to represent truth in the theatre at Mayence, which is considered the typical example of this class in Germany. As before mentioned, it was erected from the design of Dr. Moller, and was opened in the year 1832. Internally, there is a considerable degree of taste displayed in the arrangement and decoration of the boxes, and the absence of any on the proscenium is an improvement that might with advantage be copied elsewhere. The introduction of the Corinthian Order over the boxes in front of the galleries is also a very pleasing feature, and in a court theatre, like that of Versailles, perfectly admissible, but so destructive of both seeing and hearing on the part of large numbers of the audience as to be intolerable in a public theatre.

Externally the curvilinear form renders it impossible to procure a covered descent for carriages, and relegates the staircases to very inconvenient positions. In fact, the whole arrangements of this theatre are sacrificed to a Classical ideal more essentially than was done at Bordeaux ; and, although the Orders here are used with more propriety and elegance, their introduction is equally a mistake, but, on the whole, perhaps, more prejudicial to truthful Art in the German than in the French example.

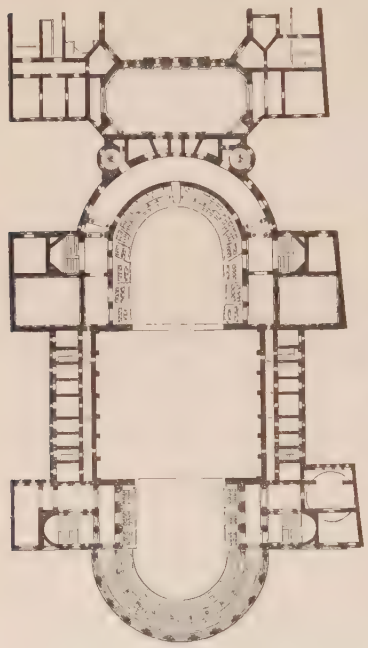
At Antwerp the architect of the theatre felt compelled by public opinion to adopt this form ; but like a reasonable architect he inserted a square block of building between his external curvilinear arcade and the back of his boxes, and into this he put his staircases, saloons, &c., and so reconciled both theories.

But the whole is a mistake, and will hardly be repeated, so it is hardly worth insisting on.

The case is widely different with a new class of theatre which has recently been introduced in Germany, and might perhaps, with certain modifications, be made suitable to even our climate. These theatres are double. In the centre is the stage, of the usual dimensions, with wings for scenery, &c., but perfectly flat ; at the side next the street is an auditory of the usual form and dimensions, with all the accompaniments and arrangements of ordinary theatres used for night performances, and is called the Winter Theatre. At the other end of the stage is an auditory of a very different character —ornamented so as to bear the light of day, lighted by large windows at the side or from the roof, and surrounded by arcades opening on a garden. This theatre, of course, can only be used in daylight,

and practically only in summer, though, for morning concerts and minor performances, it might be used all the year round.

This really does look like an invention; and at a time when late dinner-hours and midnight company have driven the upper classes almost entirely from our theatres, some such expedient as this may restore its pre-eminence to the legitimate drama. There is no reason in the world why a play of Shakespeare's should not be as interesting if seen with fresh air and the blessed light of day as if seen in a close atmosphere by the glare of gas-lamps. All pretence of immorality would be done away with by daylight, and so would nine-tenths of the stage-tricks which have so injured the real grandeur of the higher class of dramatic performances.



317. Victoria Theatre, Berlin.
Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

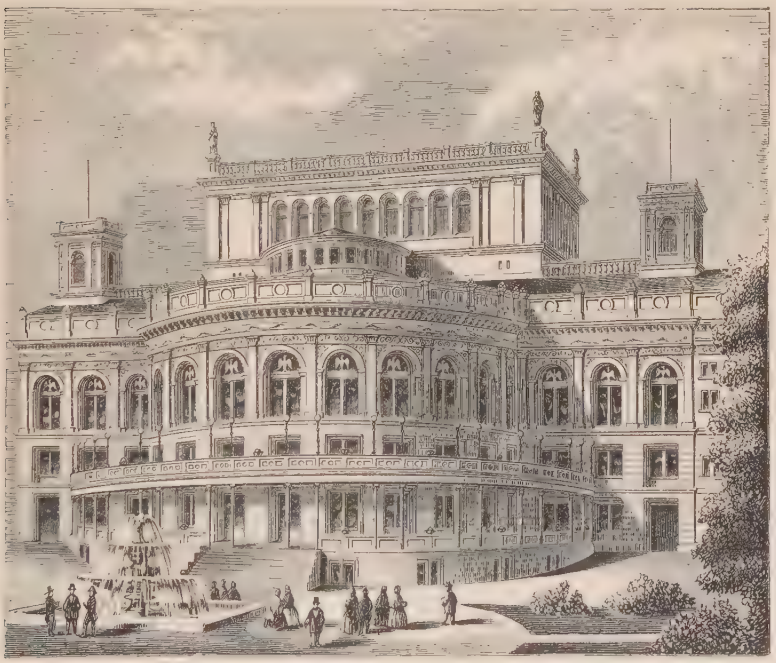
The manner in which this double arrangement has been carried out by Titz, in the Victoria Theatre, is as successful as anything of its sort in Germany. The decoration is truthful throughout, and elegant at the same time; and the garden-front, for its dimensions and character, is as pleasing a design as any that has been recently carried into effect in that country.

In consequence of its double apse the dimensions of the building are considerable. It is 310 ft. in length, and about 140 in extreme breadth, covering about 32,000 square ft., or nearly the same area as our Drury Lane.

The only other theatre in Germany, that possesses anything so original as to be worthy of remark, is the so-called National Theatre at Berlin, commenced in 1819, from designs by the celebrated Schinkel, and finished in the following year. There is no theatre in Europe which can compare with its external ordinance, either for beauty or appropriateness, unless it be the Victoria Theatre just described.

The design (Woodcut No. 317) consists, first, of a podium or basement, rusticated, but in perfect proportion to the superstructure; above this are two ranges of *steles*, separating the building into two distinct and well-defined storeys, and admitting of any required amount of light being introduced into the interior, without any violence or falsehood. All may be open, or every alternate one filled in with a panel—

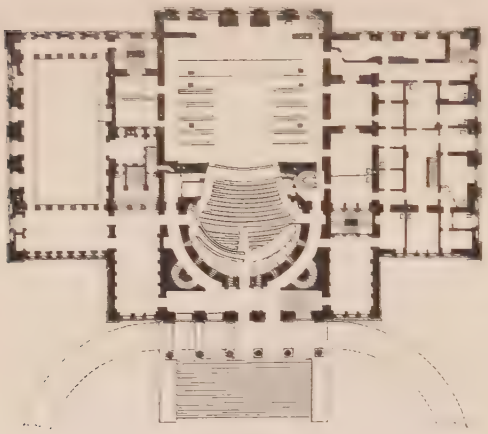
any arrangement, in fact, may be adopted that is required for internal convenience. The angles are strongly accentuated by bold piers, and the flanks divided by similar masses into compartments, so that there is no want of strength anywhere. The central compartment is raised considerably above the rest—not only breaking the outline pleasingly, and giving it dignity, but at once marking the character of the building. The only objectionable feature is a portico of six widely-spaced columns in the front, at the head of a very splendid flight of steps. These features are well designed and beautiful in themselves, but the portico is seen to be useless; and as for the stairs, the entrance is not



318. View of the Summer Auditory of the Victoria Theatre, Berlin.

up but *under* them; and a grand flight of steps that nobody is to ascend is about as ridiculous an object as can well be conceived. Notwithstanding this one solecism, which was partly excusable from the situation of the church on the Gens-d'armes Platz, between the two porticoed propylea of Frederick, this theatre may probably be considered as Schinkel's masterpiece, and certainly is the best adaptation of Greek Architecture to such a purpose that has yet been effected either in Germany or elsewhere. Internally, the arrangements are by no means so successful. Convenience has been sacrificed to Classicality to a greater extent than even at Mayence; and though exten-

sive alterations have been made since it was first opened, it is not either a comfortable theatre to sit in, nor well adapted for hearing distinctly what is passing on the stage.



319. Plan of Schinkel's Theatre, Berlin.
Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

The theatre which the same architect erected at Hamburgh is singularly plain and simple in its arrangements, both externally and internally; but from these very circumstances avoids many of the errors and inconveniences of its more ambitious rivals; and with a very little more ornament might be considered as successful as an architectural design as it is said to be as a playhouse.

On the whole the Germans can hardly be congratulated on their achievements in this department of Architectural Art. Their theatres want the elegance and appropriate cheerfulness which characterise those of France: they have not even the business-like adaptation to their purposes to be found in those of England: while they certainly are deficient in the simple unaffected grandeur of those of Italy. They seem, however, now to be entering on the task with a correcter appreciation of the conditions of the problem, and may yet do something of which they may hereafter be justly proud.

Music Halls.

The English are the only people who have hitherto erected halls or theatres specially for the performance of choral music; but that class of entertainment is now so great a favourite with the public, that it promises to become an important institution with us. Already halls have been erected at Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, and other places: besides Exeter, St. James's, and St. Martin's Halls, in the metropolis. All these, however, are much too small for the purpose, the largest of them being hardly capable of accommodating 2000 persons; whereas a chorus of 500 performers with such a band as is usually found, for instance, in Exeter Hall, could just as easily be heard by 5000 persons in a properly-constructed

building; and the increase of size would not prevent the solos being as well if not better heard by the same numbers; but if the building were really well arranged, 5000, or even 10,000, might hear as distinctly as 2000 do now.

All these halls have been constructed on the rudest possible principles; they are mere oblong rooms, sometimes with a gallery along the sides and in front, and generally with a flat floor. It is, in fact, the old Tennis Court arrangement which preceded the present theatres; yet, strange to say, when we build a lecture-room, either in the Universities or our scientific institutions, we adopt almost literally the principles of the old Greek theatre; and we know perfectly well that what would make the spoken voice heard would also be suitable to the singing voice; only that the latter could be heard with equal distinctness at three or four times the distance. All that can really be said in favour of these halls is, that they are much better suited for the purpose than the cathedrals in which these choral performances took place before their erection; but neither the one nor the other is at all worthy of the science of the present day, nor of the glorious class of performances to which they have been appropriated.

A very great advance has recently been made in our knowledge of this subject from the experience of the performances at the Crystal Palace. On several occasions there, from 15,000 to 20,000 persons have heard the choruses of Handel in a very perfect manner, and one-half that number have heard the solos with very enjoyable distinctness; yet the Crystal Palace is about the worst possible building, except in so far as size is concerned, for the purpose. The floor is perfectly flat; the galleries accommodate very few, but are thrust most obtrusively into the area, so as to hinder those under and behind them from hearing; all the arrangements of the auditory are of the most temporary and accidental character, and the external sounds very imperfectly shut off; yet the perfection with which the earlier opera concerts and the later oratorios have been heard in that building has surprised and delighted every one. If the same audiences were arranged in a building expressly constructed for the purpose, there can be no doubt but that 20,000, or even more, could hear an oratorio in a very perfect manner.

It is extremely desirable that further progress should be made in this direction, for not only have these great performances of choral music become almost national among us, but they approach more nearly to the great semi-sacred theatrical representations of the Greeks than anything else that we know of in modern times. If any one at the present time wished to realise what the Greeks felt in witnessing a grand performance of one of the dramas of Sophocles or Euripides, he would perhaps come nearer the truth by hearing one of the magnificently executed oratorios of Handel or Hadyn than by any other process

available in modern times, and infinitely more nearly than by listening to an English translation of a Greek drama performed behind the gas-lamps of a modern theatre.

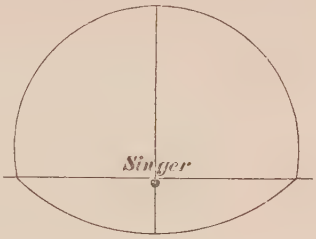
By far the most successful attempt in this direction which has been made in modern times is the Albert Hall, South Kensington. Originally suggested by Mr. Cole, the first design was prepared by Captain Fowke, but in consequence of his death was eventually carried out by General Scott. Internally it is an ellipse, measuring 219 ft. by 185, and is calculated to contain about 8000 persons, exclusive of the performers. For these an orchestra is provided, which, besides a very large organ, will contain 1000 singers and 200 instrumentalists. The height internally is 136 ft.[1]

For extent and for the pleasing arrangement of the various parts of its interior, this hall is quite unrivalled as an auditory by anything yet done in Europe; and nothing can well exceed the effect when it is filled with people, but as a music hall, with reference to its acoustic properties only, it cannot be said to be so successful. The first element to be attended to in such a design as this, is that all those in the boxes or in each tier of seats, should hear equally well. As it is, those in the seats nearest the orchestra hear very much better than those in front, though obliged to turn a little on one side to see the singers. As originally designed by Captain Fowke, it was intended to have been an elongated ellipse, with a major axis of 280 ft. and a minor of 165. Had this been carried out, it must have been an absolute failure, and though General Scott widened it relatively to its length, as far as he dared,[2] it is now evident that, both architecturally and for the convenience of the audience, it would have been better if he had adopted a purely circular form, which would have brought those in front nearly to an equality in point of hearing with those on the sides. As it is now, it probably would be better for hearing if the orchestra was placed on one of the longer sides instead of the end; but the real solution of the difficulty would have been the adoption of a semicircle with a flat side for the orchestra, or perhaps one slightly curvilinear, as suggested by Saunders in his treatise on Theatres. In fact, it was a radical mistake to neglect the lessons taught us by the Greeks in this

[1] These particulars are taken from a paper read by General Scott to the Institute of British Architects on the 22nd January 1872.

[2] It is curious sometimes to learn how frequently in this country other circumstances than considerations of fitness govern the designs of buildings. In this instance Captain Fowke's very crude design of an ellipse having been attached to the original prospectus, on which subscriptions were obtained for the erection of the Hall, it was found out that if this were altered to a circle or any other form, the subscribers might legally repudiate their contract, and consequently all discussion on that head was summarily put a stop to. In fact, one of the best opportunities of erecting a perfect music hall was thrown away because Captain Fowke did not happen to know the difference between a theatre and an amphitheatre.

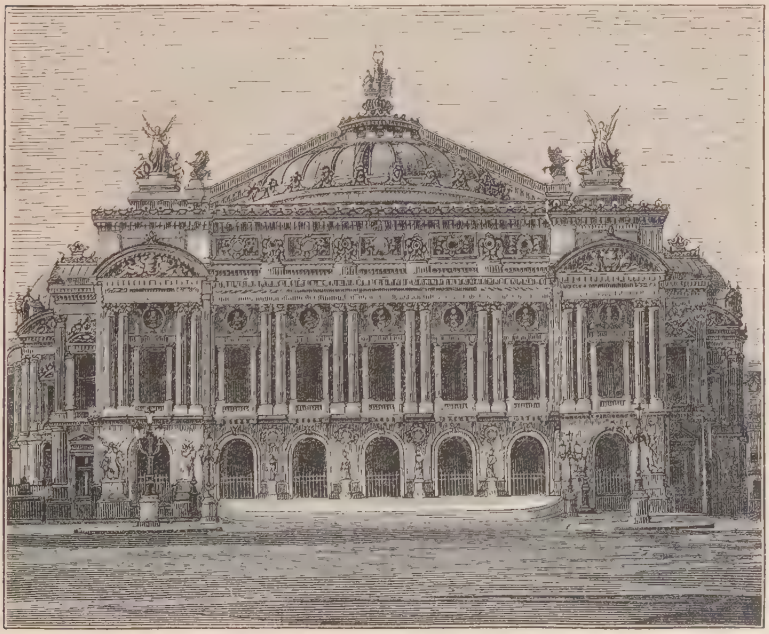
respect. As the most artistic people the world has yet known, and those having had the most extensive experience in the construction of similar edifices for such purposes, it is tolerably certain they were the right guides to follow in such a case; and had it been done at Kensington, I feel no doubt but that 10,000 people could have seen and heard better than the 8000 the present building accommodates; it would besides have been less expensive and architecturally more pleasing, and would also have fitted far more conveniently the site on which it is placed. The experience gained in the construction of the Albert Hall almost justifies the conclusion, that whenever the plan of a great theatre is intelligently adapted to the purpose, 10,000 people may be accommodated and hear musical performances of a certain character with the same ease and distinctness as the 2000 or 3000 who only can find places in the concert-rooms or theatres hitherto erected.



320. Diagram of Music Hall. From Saunders.

Recent Theatres.

[Within the last twenty years or so theatre-building has made considerable advance in England; not, however, as regards the leading



321. Façade of New Opera House, Paris. From Photograph.

theoretical questions of design which our author has so carefully discussed, but rather with reference to the practical safety of the public. It may, of course, be plainly said that there are two solemn facts not to be denied, namely: first, that it is only a question of time when any theatre will be destroyed by fire; and secondly, that whenever, on this score or any other, a panic is occasioned amongst the audience, the danger to life and limb is an exceptionally serious risk. Accordingly, Parliament has been induced to meet these difficulties by legislation; and the result is that the public authorities have had the responsibility imposed upon them, not only of approving or disapproving at discretion the plans of new theatres and similar edifices, but of ordering improvements to be made in existing buildings of the kind which appear to them to be defective in arrangement. In respect of the danger from fire, little if anything in the way of structural reform has been as yet accomplished, unless we rely upon certain inventions for producing a curtain which shall prevent the flames, originating as they do on the stage, from spreading into the auditorium; but how far it is possible to apply fire-proofing to the stage appliances themselves is a question that ought to be exhaustively considered. For the audience, however, a great deal has been done, chiefly in the way of introducing ample corridors, escape stairs properly planned, more appropriate doors, and other miscellaneous contrivances in the same direction. It is much to be regretted that the proprietors of theatres are so liable to underestimate the dangers thus dealt with; but, as usual, the financial question is the one that presses most urgently.—Ed.]

BOOK XI.

CIVIL AND MILITARY ENGINEERING.

The introduction of railways, and the immense consequent development of civil engineering, have given rise to a class of works which, if not strictly Architectural, are so closely allied to it, that it is impossible to escape alluding to them in a work like this, though any attempt to describe them would be to commence a new volume, and to open out quite a different field of inquiry from that which has been followed out in the previous pages of this work.

Those who have mastered the definitions stated at length in the introduction to this volume will have no difficulty in perceiving that there is no real line of demarcation between the two branches of the building profession, though now they are kept distinct as Engineering and as Architecture; but if the latter were only as truthful and as living an art as the other, the distinction would entirely disappear. The Engineer would only be the Architect who occupied himself more especially with construction, and the more utilitarian class of works; the Architect, properly so called, would be the artist who attended to the ornamental distribution of buildings, and their decoration when erected.

At the present day the line of demarcation is only too easily recognised, because the engineer is a man who follows his branch of the profession on the same common-sense principles which guided builders in all previous ages. The architect has superadded those trammels of imitation which reduce his branch to an absurdity. The one great hope of a return to a better state of things is, that the engineers may become so influential as to force the architects to adopt their principles, though at the present moment the tendency seems rather in the opposite direction.

As in consequence of these distinctions, however, the engineers are not architects within the definition of the term employed in the preceding pages of this volume, their works need not be enumerated here; but in order to complete and to render intelligible what has been said

above, it may be expedient to select one or two examples which will suffice to point out the differences which exist, and the tendency of the two branches towards the unknown future.

There are of course certain branches of his profession in which the civil engineer does not come in contact with the architect, such as the laying out and making of roads, the making of the permanent way of railroads, the making of embankments or of piers, and similar works: but most of these are now being handed over to the mechanical engineer, or to the surveyor and the contractor. The civil engineer, in the sense in which we are now speaking of him, is the builder of bridges and viaducts, the excavator of locks and docks, the constructor of piers and lighthouses, and frequently the builder of ships.

In all these cases the primary object of the engineer is use, not beauty; but he cannot help occasionally becoming an architect, and sometimes with singular success, though too frequently, when he ornaments, it is, as architects generally do, by borrowing features from the Classical or Mediæval styles, or by some mistaken application of them, betraying how little he has really studied the problem before him.

In illustration of these definitions, let us take the Dee Bridge at Chester. As an engineering work, nothing can be nobler. It is the largest single span for a stone bridge in England, probably in the world; built of the best materials, and in a situation where nothing interferes with its beauty or proportions. Its engineer, however, aspired to be architect; and the consequence is, that instead of giving value to an arch of 200 ft. span, no one can, by mere inspection, believe that it is more than half that width. In the first place he introduced a common architrave moulding round the arch, such as is usually employed in Domestic Architecture, and which it requires immense thought to exaggerate beyond the dimensions of a *porte-cochère*. He then placed in the spandrils a panel 30 ft. by 50, which in like manner we are accustomed to, of one-third or one-thirtieth these dimensions. He then, on his abutments, introduced two niches for statues, which it is immediately assumed would be of life size; and beyond this, two land-arches without mouldings or accentuation of any sort, consequently looking so weak as to satisfy the mind there was no difficulty in the construction.

Had Mr. Harrison been really an architect, he would have rusticated these land-arches with Cyclopean massiveness, not only to continue the idea of the embankment, but also to give strength where it was apparently most needed; and would have avoided anything in the abutments that savoured of life-size sculpture or of temple building. A Mediæval architect would have pierced the spandrils with openings, thereby giving both lightness and dimensions to this part; or if that was not mechanically admissible, he would have divided it into three

or four panels, in accordance with the construction. The essential parts in the construction of a bridge, however, are the voussoirs of the arch; and to this the architect's whole attention should first be turned. If there had been fifty well-defined arch-stones, the bridge would have looked infinitely larger than it now appears. With one hundred it would have looked larger still; but, if too numerous, there is a danger of the structure losing that megalithic character which is almost as essential as actual dimensions for greatness of effect. The true architect is the man who can weigh these various conditions one against the other, and strike a judicious balance between the different elements at his command. At Chester the builder has failed in this at every point, and by the same process which ruined St. Peter's. By exaggerating his details, the bridge has been dwarfed in exactly the same manner as the basilica.

If this is all that can be done with bridges, it is far better that they should be left, like most of those recently built, to tell their own tale without any ornament whatever. A long series of tall arches is



322. Dee Bridge at Chester.

so beautiful an object in itself that it is difficult to injure it; but occasionally a slight moulding at the impost, a bold accentuation of the arch, and bold marking of the roadway render those beautiful which otherwise may only be useful in appearance.

London Bridge is a very happy instance of Ornamental Engineering, but scarcely sufficiently ornamented to become architecture; but in this respect it is better than Waterloo Bridge, where the Doric columns on the piers, though certainly ornamental, are so inappropriate as considerably to mar the effect.

Neither of the bridges of Telford or Stephenson across the Menai Strait makes the smallest pretension to architectural design. The former, however, though beautiful from the grace of its form, would have been even more so had the hand of taste been allowed to modify some of its details, but it is lucky in having escaped the Egyptian propylons in cast iron which were designed for the suspension bridge at Clifton. It must also be confessed he would have been a bold man who ventured to suggest a decoration for so untried a form as the tubular girder, and in the present state of design it is fortunate the attempt was not made. If not beautiful, it is grand, and there is no offence against good taste. The same can hardly be said of Brunel's

two bridges at Chepstow and Saltash. In these the great bent tube is the principal feature, but in both instances the construction is wholly internal and concealed. It would have cost nothing, and hardly added a ton to the weight, to have put enough of it outside to explain the arrangement, and so satisfied the mind. Wonderful as the latter is from its size and position, and fairy-like from the lightness of its form, it can only now be looked upon as a glorious opportunity neglected for producing one of the most beautiful specimens of Iron Bridge Architecture in the world. With the requisite amount of taste and thought this might have been done, adding little or nothing to the expense.[1]

Among smaller objects, the lighthouses, such as those of Eddystone, Bell Rock, and Skerryvore, are the most satisfactory specimens of Engineering Architecture that have been produced. They have little or no ornament, it is true, but exquisite beauty of form with great perfection of material and workmanship; and if these do not entitle them to rank in the higher class, we must cut out of our list Pyramids and Obelisks, Topes, Tombs, and all the simpler, though some of the grandest, objects that have hitherto been classed with Architecture.

Some of the entrances to the tunnels which are found on most railways in England are as grand as any city gates, and grander than many triumphal arches, that are to be found in Europe. But this is only the case when they depend for expression on their own mass and dimensions, relieved only by a few simple but appropriate mouldings —when they, in fact, are treated according to the true principles of architectural design. Too often, however, the engineer has aspired to be an Architect in the modern sense of the term, and there are Grecian, Egyptian, Gothic, and other tunnel-fronts on various lines which are as absurd as anything done in towns. They probably, however, are the exception. But a collection of these objects, classified as they belonged to the true or imitative styles of Art, would be as correct an illustration as could well be found of the two principles of design prevalent in ancient and in modern times, and a fair test of their relative excellence. In applying such a test however, it must be borne in mind that those who have designed the true examples are men in a hurry, who probably in all their lives had never time to think of beauty in Art, while those who erect imitative buildings have generally spent their lives in intense study of ancient Art, and become thoroughly imbued with its spirit, in the hope that they may be able to reproduce its beauties.

[1] A bridge recently built over the Rhine, at Mayence, on the same principle, is very much more satisfactory, because the construction is all shown. Although it may want the height and the poetry of that at Saltash, it is not only a better specimen of Engineering, but also of Engineering Architecture.

The point, however, at which the engineer and the architect come most directly in contact is in the erection of stations and station buildings. In every instance these ought to be handed over to the architect as soon as the engineer has arranged the mechanical details. Unfortunately, however, as Architecture is practised in this country, its professors, if so called in, would insist on the station being either Grecianised or Gothicised, or, at all events, carried out in some incongruous style; and not one man in ten would have the courage to content himself with the ornamental arrangement of the parts and ornamental accentuation of the construction, these being all, or nearly all, that can be allowed in such cases, decoration being generally not only misapplied, but too costly for the purpose.

On the other hand, when engineers attempt decoration they generally fail. Nothing is so common as to see attenuated cast-iron Classical columns, with a fragment of an entablature on their heads, spaced ten or twenty diameters apart, and supporting trussed wrought-iron girders 100 or 200 ft. in span, or, what is worse, pointed arches and cathedral details appropriated to a similar purpose.

To recapitulate what has been done in this direction would be to write a volume on Civil Engineering; but an example or two may suffice to place the style in its proper relation to Architecture in the stricter sense of the word, and thus prevent confusion of ideas regarding a proper definition of Art.

The first example selected is the King's Cross Station, one of the very best of those in the metropolis. It consists of two great halls each 800 ft. long, 105 ft. wide, and 91 ft. high. Westminster Hall is 258 ft. long, 68 ft. wide, and 86 high; that at Padua 240 by 84 in width; so that neither of these, though the largest erected before this century, can compare in dimensions with the modern examples. Internally, the Paduan example is not so architectural as the station, and need not be compared; but that at Westminster, if placed in juxtaposition, explains at once the difference between Civil Engineering and Artistic Architecture. Both the halls depend for their effect principally on their roofs. In the station the corbels are plain blocks, the ribs of the simplest form, and the quantity of timber exactly what was necessary to support the roof, and the castings and details are made wholly without reference to architectural effect. In the Hall the corbels are rich, the timber twice the quantity required, the arrangement of the parts designed as much for architectural as for mechanical effect, and every part carefully carved and ornamented. Between these two there are infinite degrees, but no line. Had the architect of the station felt himself justified in spending a little more money, he might easily have added strength, or the appearance of it; he might have added ornament; he might have modified his proportions, or introduced parts that would have done so in appearance, till he made as



323. Interior of the Station at King's Cross.

beautiful an object as the Hall, and, considering the immensely increased dimensions, a far grander building ; but this he was not permitted to do, and it would have required great judgment and an immense amount of thought to have done it well.

The internal façade of the buildings of this station, which ranges along the whole length of the departure platform on the west side, is another important feature, which, without additional expense, might have been made far more satisfactory by a slight expenditure of thought only. It now consists of a range of similar windows in the upper storey, and of doors and windows treated similarly below. An important entrance from the first-class booking-office a less ornate one from the second—would have given meaning to one part. The offices ought to have been treated in one style, the refreshment and waiting rooms in another ; and these ought to have been different from the lamp-room, porters'-room, and more menial buildings attached.

Externally, the design has the merit of being entirely truthful. The two great semicircular windows terminate appropriately the two sheds : the clock-tower is a perfectly legitimate feature ; the booking-office on the one hand, and the archway from the arrival-platform on the other, are equally appropriate. The one great defect is, that the style is so simple and grand that it ought to have been executed in granite, while it is carried out in simple brick. Knowing this, the spectator cannot help feeling that those deep offsets round the arches are misplaced, especially as the lightness of the roof they terminate is seen through the

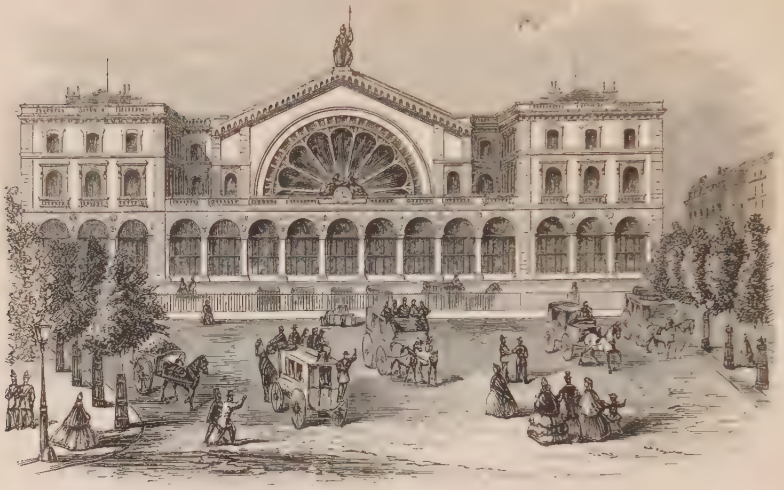


324. Exterior View of the Station at King's Cross.

windows. One or two would have been ample ; and if the money saved in material had been employed in ornament, a more architectural façade might have been attained, and one infinitely more appropriate to the material in which it is built.

If we turn back for one moment to Schinkel's design for the Bauschule (Woodcut No. 240), we shall see at once how this might have been done ; and it may also be useful to note the difference between the two designs. At Berlin, the details are all good and all appropriate to brick Architecture, but the form of the building is too simple and severe for such a material. At London, the outline is sufficiently broken and varied for brick, but the details too massive and solid for anything but stone or granite. Had Schinkel used as broken an outline as that of the station, or had the station been ornamented with as elaborate details as the Bauschule, they would both have been more perfect buildings ; but they both fail because their architects forgot to think of the materials they were about to employ.

If the Great Northern Station is a success, it is because it is simply an unaffected piece of engineering skill, and makes no pretensions to be an object of architectural art. The same, however, cannot be said of its more ambitious neighbour at St. Pancras, on which so much ornament has been bestowed that it is elevated unmistakably into the higher class, though the mode in which this has been done renders it doubtful whether it is either so pleasing or so successful as its plainer sister. As



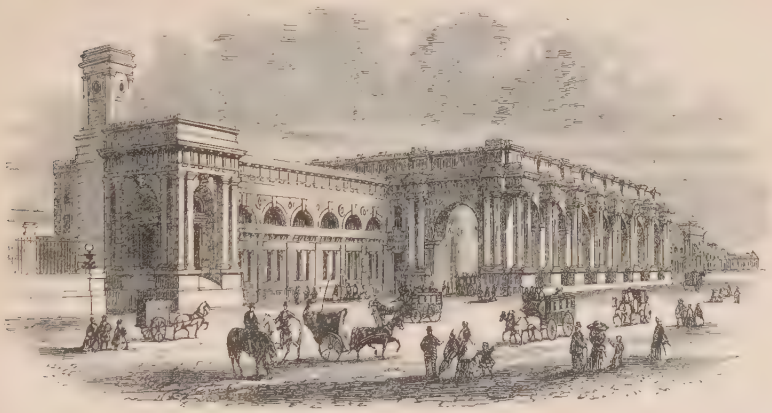
325. Façade of Strasburg Railway Station, Paris.

an engineering *tour de force*, the roof of its great shed is as yet unrivalled. It is 700 ft. long by 240 ft. clear span, without an apparent tie of any sort. The ties, in fact, are the beams that form the roof of the vaults below and support the floor of the station. Add to these dimensions, that it is 100 ft. high, and it becomes colossal in every respect. But was it worth while to encounter all the engineering difficulties, and go to such an expense to attain this result? Had it been divided by a range of two columns into two halls, each 120 ft.[1] wide, it would have been equally convenient, would have cost less, and looked both longer and wider and higher than the present one. As it is, it kills everything; the carriages and engines look like toy trains, and human beings like ants. There is no proportion between the shed and its uses, and everything looks out of place, and most of all the Gothic mouldings and brickwork, borrowed from the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages, which with its pretty littlenesses thrusts itself between the gigantic iron ribs of the roof. Add to all this the curious clumsiness of the Mediæval timbering of the roof of the Booking-office, in daring contrast with all the refinements of nineteenth century construction in the neigbouring shed, and you have the two systems in such violent contrast that it is quite evident that this is not the direction on which it is possible an amalgamation can ever be effected. We may regret the

[1] The central transept of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham is 120 feet wide by 160 feet in height

plainness of the Great Northern Station, but it is better it should remain as it is, rather than that it should be disfigured with incongruous mediævalism like the station of the Midland Railway, which stands next to it.

Another illustration how such a façade might have been ornamented is seen from the example on the preceding page, taken from the station of the Strasburg Railway at Paris. Practically the design of this façade is the same as that of the Great Northern Station, just described (except that there is only one shed in the French example); but the latter, from its higher degree of ornamentation and its more artistic arrangement, becomes really an object of Architectural Art, and one perfectly appropriate to the purpose without too great an amount of imitative features borrowed from any particular style.



326. Façade of Station, Newcastle, with intended portico.

The Station at Newcastle, though very grand, and possessing some excellent points of design, verges close on the faults so common in the Renaissance styles. It is neither quite truthful nor quite appropriate. The great portico might as well be the entrance to a palace or a theatre as to a railway station, and the ornamentation has too much the character of being put there for ornament's sake alone, without reference either to construction or to any of the real exigencies of the building; and, what is worse, in order to give light to the rooms below, its roof must be either wholly or partially of glass, consequently its monumental forms at once become absurd. They are such as would almost suffice for a vault—a few iron posts would have done as well for all they have to support.

Without attempting to assign the relative merit of each of these examples, they may be taken as representing the three classes into which this style divides itself: the Great Northern Station representing

Engineering Architecture, the Strasburg Station Artists' Architecture, and the station at Newcastle Architects' Architecture.

From the two first alone can anything that is good or satisfactory ever be expected; and, if persevered in, they offer precisely the same chance of developing a new style as was afforded to the ecclesiastical builders of the Middle Ages; and if the engineers only appreciate the value of the principles on which they are perhaps unconsciously acting, they ought to insist on the same truth pervading all the buildings in their charge. If they do, they will render a service to the sister profession the benefit of which will be incalculable.

Unfortunately this is not the view of the matter that has hitherto been taken, not only in this country, but more especially on the Continent, as we meet with Byzantine stations and Gothic stations of every degree and variety, but also Pompeian and Classic—even pure Grecian-Doric stations—and every form of inappropriate blundering, and all to save a little thought and trouble on the part of the designers. But it may safely be asserted that these are all—without a single exception—good or satisfactory in the exact proportion in which it is difficult to name the style in which they are erected.

If railway engineers and railway architects, in this country at least, have not done all that might be expected of them to produce beauty as well as convenience in their works, there is this, at least, to be said in their excuse—that all our railways are private commercial undertakings entered upon with a view to profit. If, therefore, the engineer can provide the necessary accommodation for 10,000*l.*, he is hardly justified in spending 11,000*l.* Though it is quite true that a certain amount of spaciousness and dignity does attract custom to a railway, it is only to a certain extent; and a subordinate is not justified in going beyond that without special sanction.

A more fatal case hitherto has been the transition state in which everything is. Though railways are little more than thirty years old, there is hardly an important station in this country that has not been either pulled down and re-erected in some other locality, or enlarged and altered so that nothing of the original design remains; and any station that is twenty years old, either is, or ought to be, rebuilt immediately. Even bridges have to be widened or altered, and the next few years may introduce such changes that all that men are doing now may have to be re-done. While this is the case, it is wasteful to spend much money on permanent erections; and much expenditure of time or thought is hardly to be expected from an engineer or his assistant on what they feel convinced may be swept away before they themselves have done with it.

All that can be asked from the railway authorities under these circumstances is elegant appropriateness, and all will have every reason

to be thankful if that saves us from Mediæval stations, Doric porticoes, Egyptian viaducts, and other absurdities of the sort, of which too many have already been perpetrated in this country. It will be well for us if engineers are confined for the future to this, and to this only, and prevented from indulging in those eccentricities which have hitherto marred so many noble works. It is far better that we should be content with plain, honest, solid, but useful erections, than that our buildings should be adorned on the mistaken principles which have hitherto been supposed to constitute the art of Architecture.

Architectural Engineering.

[This heading is meant to suggest a very practical question, namely, how far the artistic design of building (Architecture) ought to be applied to those kinds of building which it is found convenient to place in the hands of the civil engineer rather than the architect. Are there two kinds of building, one that ought to be made graceful and another that ought not? Is there any possible reason why a line should be drawn, on one side of which the Architect by name shall be required to devote himself earnestly to the production of pleasantness, while on the other side the Engineer by name shall be allowed to produce unpleasantness and say he can't help it? Why can't he help it? He spends money freely enough, much more freely than the architect. If we were dealing with some sort of clod-hopper, or navigator, and he said he couldn't help it, the reason would be plain. But this is a highly educated person, a gentleman, often of marked refinement; and somebody ought to tell him that he must help it; or, if he cannot be personally troubled with such triviality, why should he not call some one to his aid? Broadly speaking, there is not a single feature in the scientific design of a bridge, a railway-station, a river-embankment, or whatever else it may be, over which the fine-art of building need fail to throw the graces of proportion and the elegances of embellishment. In France and Germany the engineer can do this for himself, or procure the proper doing of it, as mere matter of course; why not in England?—Ed.]

Ferro-Vitreous Art.

A new style of Architecture was inaugurated together with the first Exhibition of 1851, which has had already a considerable effect on a certain class of designs, and promises to have a still greater influence in future.

There is, perhaps, no incident in the history of Architecture so felicitous as Sir Joseph Paxton's suggestion of a magnified conservatory to contain that great collection. At a time when men were puzzling

themselves over domes to rival the Pantheon, or halls to surpass those of the Baths of Caracalla, it was wonderful that a man could be found to suggest a thing which had no other merit than being the best, and, indeed, the only thing then known which would answer the purpose; and a still more remarkable piece of good fortune that the commissioners had the courage to adopt it.

As first proposed, the Hyde Park Crystal Palace, though an admirable piece of Civil Engineering, had no claim to be considered as an architectural design. Use, and use only, pervaded every arrangement, and it was not ornamented to such an extent as to elevate it into the class of Fine Arts. The subsequent introduction of the arched transept with the consequent arrangements at each end and on each side, did much to bring it within that category; and a man must have had much more criticism than poetry in his composition who could stand under its arch and among its trees by the side of the crystal fountain, and dare to suggest that it was not the most fairy-like production of Architectural Art that had yet been produced.

As re-erected at Sydenham, the building has far greater claims to rank among the important architectural objects of the world. In the first place, its dimensions are unsurpassed by those of any hall ever erected. Its internal area is four times that of St. Peter's at Rome, and ten times that of our St. Paul's. A second merit is, that its construction is absolutely truthful throughout. Nothing is concealed, and nothing added for effect. In this respect it surpasses any Classical or Gothic building ever erected. A third is, that it is ornamentally arranged. Nothing can well be better, or better subordinated, than the great and two minor transepts joined together by the circular roofs of the naves, and the whole arrangement is such as to produce the most pleasing effects both internally and externally.

Although therefore it possesses in a remarkable degree greatness of dimension—truthfulness of design—and ornamental arrangements—which are three of the great elements of architectural design, it is deficient in two others. It has not a sufficient amount of decoration about its parts to take it altogether out of the category of first-class engineering, and to make it entirely an object of Fine Art. But its greatest defect is that it wants solidity, and that appearance of permanence and durability indispensable to make it really architectural in the strict meaning of the word. Whether this quality can ever be imparted to any building wholly composed of glass and iron is very questionable, though a great deal could be done in this direction that has been neglected at Sydenham, and no doubt would have been done had its builders not been hampered by the purchase of the Hyde Park building, which was avowedly designed for temporary purposes.

The only mode of really overcoming this defect will probably be by

the introduction of a third material. Stone is not quite suitable for this purpose ; it is too solid and too uniform. So the designers of the Paris Palais d'Industrie seem to have thought ; for, instead of trying to amalgamate the two elements at their command, they were content to hide their crystal palace in an envelope of masonry, which would have served equally well for a picture-gallery, a concert-room, or even for a palace. Nowhere is the internal arrangement of the building expressed or even suggested on the outside ; and the consequence is, that, however beautiful either of the parts may be separately, the design is a failure as a whole.[1]

Though stone therefore may be inappropriate, brick and terra-cotta may be employed with iron and glass with the very best effect. When so used the brickwork must be of the very best quality, so as to be pleasing in itself. Coloured bricks should be employed everywhere to give relief and lightness, and the mouldings must be designed especially for the places to which they are applied.

If at Sydenham the whole of the lower storey in the garden front up to the floor-line had been of brickwork, it would have added very considerably to its monumental character. It would also have improved the design immensely if the angles of all the transepts had been brickwork up to their whole height, and the screen-walls to a certain extent. This would no doubt have added somewhat to the expense, but not to a greater extent than would have been saved in repairs ; and where the roof is of glass, there is no inconvenience in blocking out a certain portion of the lateral light. The real difficulty in adopting such a mode of treatment is the immense amount of thought it would require to work out the details, and the skill and judgment necessary to do it well. If well done it would almost be equivalent to the invention of a new style, and for certain purposes more beautiful than anything that has gone before.

These principles of design were to a very great extent followed up in the Alexandra Park Palace, so recently destroyed by fire. The proportions of brick, iron, and glass there used were, as nearly as we can now see, those which ought to be used in such structures, and each element was used with those constructive forms most appropriate to its special qualities, and with the happiest effect. Like the sister palace at Sydenham, its design was to a certain extent hampered by the purchase

[1] At Paris they seem to have found this out already, at least if we may judge from the design of a new Exhibition building which it was proposed to erect at Auteuil. In this design stone is to be used everywhere for accentuation, but never for concealment. Brick would probably have been better; but if the same taste had been displayed in this building as is usual in Parisian designs, it would have been an immense step in the right direction, and have gone far to bring the ferro-vitreous style within the domain of Architecture. The building, however, never was completed, and the part erected is now removed.

of the 1862 Exhibition building, which was very far from being a successful design in any respect, but the materials of which having to be used up in the new building to some extent, marred its beauty. Notwithstanding this, however, it was the most successful thing of its class yet carried out, and with a few alterations in detail, which it is hoped will be attended to when it is rebuilt, it may become really a very beautiful and appropriate building for exhibition purposes.

Such a style would not, of course, be applicable everywhere; but there are so many buildings of this class now wanted for exhibitions, for railway stations, for places of assembly, and for floricultural purposes, that it is of great importance the subject should be studied carefully, as it is one of the few branches of the art on which a future of progress seems to be dawning. If such a development were to take place in even one of the most insignificant branches of the art, men would not long remain content to spend their money on even the correctest Classic columns or Gothic arches; once they perceived that these were not only absolutely useless, but actually hurtful, it might even come to be believed that the men of the nineteenth century practically knew as much of scientific construction, and were as refined in their artistic tastes, as our ignorant and hard-fisted forefathers in the thirteenth. When this is once done the battle is gained, and Architecture again becomes a truthful art, and recovers the place from which she has been banished for centuries.

Meanwhile it is curious to observe with what speed we are advancing in constructive skill. A conical dome, for instance, has been erected at Vienna, from the designs of Mr. Scott Russell, as the central point of the Exhibition building, which is 365 ft. in clear span internally, and upwards of 200 ft. in height, without any tie or constructive expedient being shown. As originally designed, it was intended to have been twice that diameter; and certainly, up to 1000 ft. clear span, this mode of construction presents no difficulty. Besides, it is the cheapest mode of permanent roofing yet known, costing somewhat less than 2½*d*. per cubic foot of contained space. It would in this manner be easy to put a roof over the Great Pyramid, or St. Peter's in Rome, without touching either, at an expense which could easily be mastered. In fact, there seems no practical limit to the size that may thus be reached, but it is quite another question whether such dimensions are desirable. For the engineer they certainly are, but is there any architect who can ornament them, or render their forms ornamental? It may be done hereafter, but at present no one probably can say how he would rescue these gigantic forms from the hands of the engineer and render them true objects of architectural art, and till this is done we may tolerate them for their usefulness, though we cannot certainly admire them for their beauty.

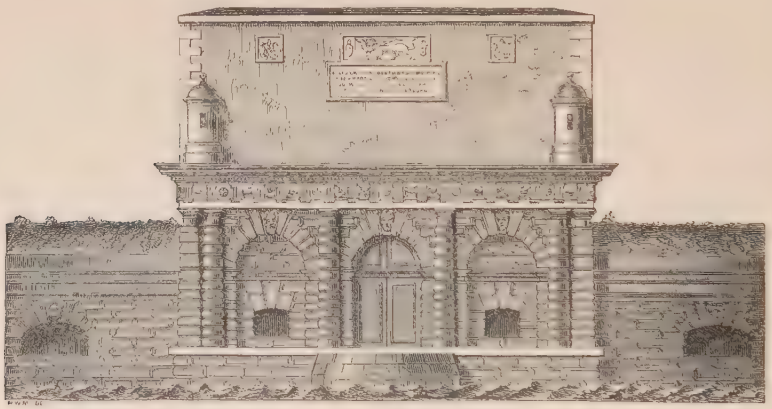
Military Engineering.

Military Engineering is another branch of the art which has even more rarely been brought in modern times within the domain of the architect than the Civil branch has been, and has not some of its excuses ; for all works of fortification are imperial works, paid for by the nation, and constructed without reference to profit ; they might therefore be made ornamental, when ornament can be applied. The excuse is, of course, that there is no iconoclast like a cannon-ball, and it is absurd to ornament what is sure to be destroyed. This is, however, hardly a fair view of the case : of one hundred bastions that are built, not more than one on an average is ever fired at, and it is a pity that the remaining ninety-nine should disfigure the earth during the whole period of their existence. The masses are so great and the forms so generally pleasing, that a very slight additional expense and small amount of thought would render that beautiful which is now commonplace, and this without interfering in the smallest possible degree with its defensive qualities. The truth of the matter is that the civilian or the architect is never consulted in these matters. A fortification is always a secret and a mystery till it is built ; and the officer employed has probably never thought of Architecture as an art, and is too much occupied by the defensive elements of his design to think of anything else ; while military boards are not—it must be admitted—likely to encourage their subordinates in carrying out their artistic aspirations.

It is hardly necessary to recall here the extreme beauty attained by Military Engineering in the Middle Ages. The grandeur of the donjon keeps—the variety and picturesqueness of the outer walls, with their flanking machicolated towers—the town wall with the gates—every part of the system was as admirable and as perfect as the Ecclesiastical styles of the day. With the invention of gunpowder these things were changed. The masonry came to be pared down to a moderate height, and was buried in a ditch instead of being perched on a crag. It was crowned with an earthern parapet instead of a cornice-like battlement. The gates alone were left, for some time at least, in the hands of the architects, and still remain the only parts of a fortified enciente to which decoration is systematically employed.

If San Michele was not the actual inventor of the pentagonal bastion, he was certainly the first man that reduced the modern systems to a practical shape ; and though the forms he employed have been slightly modified and enlarged since his day, nothing has been added to what he invented till the bastion system itself was superseded by the modern polygonal fortification.

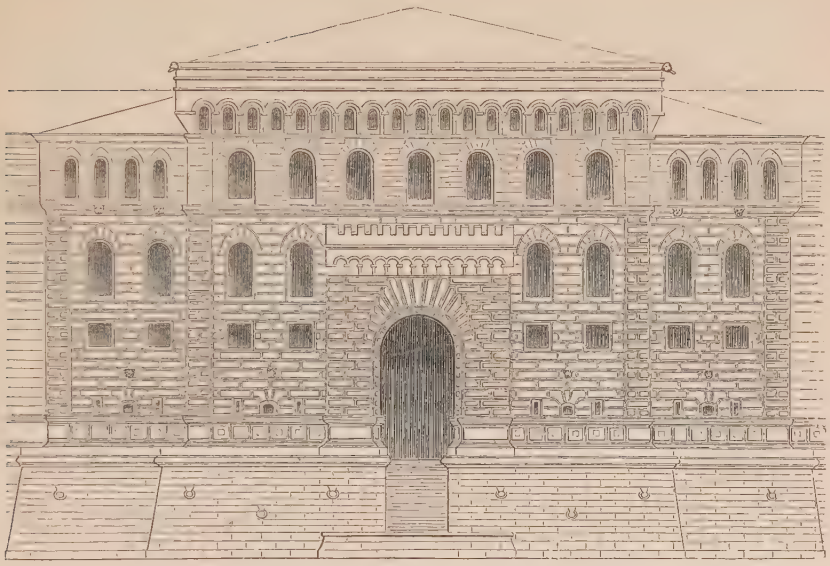
His greatest work was the fortification of Verona; and the gates he erected there have been the models followed with more or less exactness in every subsequent fortification in Europe. One of these, now called the Porta Stupa from its being closed, has been quoted as his greatest work of this class; but it certainly is not so beautiful as that of the Castello del Lido (Woodcut No. 327), which for a single archway is one of the happiest designs of its class yet executed. In almost all cases the elements of these designs are the same—boldly rusticated Doric columns, with rusticated arches between, combined in various proportions. The French, who have more taste in these matters than other nations, have latterly omitted the pillars and introduced simple rusticated arches: elegant, it must be confessed, and appropriate, but generally so plain that they must be considered as belonging to Engineering rather than to Architectural Art.



327. Gateway at Castello del Lido, Venice.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some hundreds of these great city portals were erected in various parts of Europe—all of grand dimensions—all more or less ornamented; but it is sad to think there is not one of them whose design the mind dwells on with pleasure, or which any one would care to see illustrated in a work like this.

If, therefore, we must abandon the portals, there is still an infinite number of works about an extensive fortress, all of which are capable of artistic treatment. There are towers in the gorges; there are casemates and defensive barracks, buildings of the most imposing dimensions and most massive construction, which it would require very little to render architecturally beautiful; and there are numberless minor objects which need not be left in their present state of utilitarian ugliness.



328. Central Compartment of the Granary at Modlin.

One example must suffice : at New Georgiesk or Modlin there is a granary situated on a point where the Bug and Vistula meet. Standing in the centre of so important a fortress, it was necessary to fortify it. This has been done by introducing a set of gun-casemates on the lower floor, a projecting gallery above, and rendering the whole bomb-proof. The style chosen is elegant ; and without one



329. Diagram showing the whole of the Façade of the Granary at Modlin.

single feature that can be called inappropriate, an edifice of very considerable architectural merit has been produced out of the granary of a fortress, and there is no building in the world that might not be made equally so if the same amount of care and pains were bestowed upon it.[1]

In Germany something has been done of late years to remedy this state of things, especially by the late King of Bavaria at Ingoldstadt

[1] The building is 550 feet long by 100 feet high in the centre.

and elsewhere in his dominions. Some of the Prussian designs, too, show a tendency to consider how a certain amount of architectural design can be superinduced on the utilitarian forms of these buildings, and sometimes with very considerable success. As before mentioned, the Arsenal at Vienna is one of the most successful of Austrian designs, but, being neither fortified nor in a fortress, it belongs more to the province of the civil than of the military branch. What might be done in this branch is obvious enough ; but, till some greater progress has been made than has hitherto been effected, it is evident that military construction has as yet no place in a work devoted to the study of Architecture considered as one of the Fine Arts.

CONCLUSION.

On reviewing the history of Architecture during the three or four centuries to which the contents of this treatise extend, the retrospect, it must be confessed, is sufficiently melancholy and discouraging. For the first time in history the most civilised nations of the world have agreed to forsake the only path that could lead to progress or perfection in the "Master Art," and been wandering after shadows that constantly elude their grasp. When we consider the extent to which building operations have been carried during that period, the amount of wealth lavished on architectural decoration, and the amount of skill and knowledge available for its direction, it is very sad to think that all should have been comparatively wasted in consequence of the system on which these were employed. Few will dispute the assertion, that there is no Renaissance example equal as a work of Art to any Gothic or Saracenic building, or that ever attained to the picturesque appropriateness of these styles. Nor has any modern design ever reached the intellectual elegance of the Greek or Roman, or the sublimity of the Egyptian; and all this simply because of the mistaken idea that success could be achieved without thought, and that the past could be reproduced in the present.

It is of little use, however, now lamenting over opportunities that have been lost and cannot be recalled: it is more important to try and find out what are the prospects of improvement now, or rather, before proceeding to this, to ask what is to be the style of the future?

To give a distinct and categorical answer to such a question is of course impossible, as it would be equivalent to attempting to foresee what has not been invented, and to describe what does not yet exist. It would have been as reasonable to have asked Watt to describe the engines of the 'Devastation,' or Stephenson to sketch the appearance of the Great Western express train at the time when he started the 'Experiment' on the Stockton and Darlington line. If the style is to be a true style, it will take many years to elaborate, and many minds must be employed in the task; but if men once settle into the true path, success must follow, and the new style

must be good and beautiful, perhaps more so than any that have preceded it. In the meanwhile, however, it is easy to reply, negatively, that it certainly will not be Gothic—if, for no other reason, at least for this: that the Mediæval is a complete and perfect style, and progress in it is consequently impossible without a recurrence of the circumstances in which it was created. It was the result of centuries of continuous progressive changes growing out of the wants of the times, and supplied by the restless mental activity of thousands of minds applied through long ages to meet these exigencies. We are separated by the gulf of centuries from these times: we can neither go back to nor recall them: we can never settle again into the same groove, and, while this is so, progress in that direction is impossible. If we could forget the invention of gunpowder, and induce nations to revert to bows and arrows and plate-armour,—if we could ignore the printing-press and all its thousand influences, or persuade ourselves to believe that the steam-engine is still only the dream of some crack-brained mechanic,—then indeed we might restore the Middle Ages, and Gothic Architecture might become again a living form in such a state of things; but, till all this and more is done, it must remain only a fragment of the past, utterly strange and uncongenial to our habits and our feelings—an amusement to the learned, but taking no root among the masses nor ever being an essential part of our civilisation. On the other hand, the more we study the Architecture of the past or become familiar with its details, the more enamoured must we be with so honest and so earnest an expression of human wants and feelings, and the more incapable are we of emancipating ourselves from its particular influence. This we already feel; and every day we are becoming more and more correct as copyists, and more and more intolerant of any deviation from the exact types of the Middle Ages.

The same is true of the pure Classical styles, from which we are separated by even a longer interval of time, and also by a geographical barrier which renders them unsuitable for our climate. But it is not quite correct to say that our sympathies are not equally engaged by them. The educated classes, at least, know more and feel more for the age of Ictinus than for that of William of Sens, and are more capable of appreciating that of Vitruvius than that of Wickham or of Waynflete. But be this as it may, the Classical is also a perfect style, and progress in it is unattainable unless we can put ourselves in the position of the Greeks or Romans when they were elaborating it; and without progress it is impossible to adapt any art really to our use or purposes.

It need hardly be added that all this is even more true as regards the Saracenic, the Indian, the Chinese, or Mexican; but there is yet one other style within whose limits progress still seems possible.

The Renaissance Italian is by no means worked out or perfected, and, from the causes pointed out in the preceding pages, has hardly yet had even a fair trial of its merits.

Originally it was a compromise between the Gothic and the Classic styles, borrowing the forms from the one, the details from the other; and it has in its progress oscillated backwards and forwards, from almost pure Mediævalism on the one hand to pure Paganism on the other. It has also this immense advantage: in its devious course it has been so far adapted to the wants and exigencies of modern times, that it is perfectly suited to all our purposes and is so familiar to us that we may base on it any improvement we may invent without its seeming strange and out of place. It has also this immense advantage, which the Gothic never can possess, that it requires and demands that the highest class of Art in painting and sculpture should be associated with it, instead of the crude barbarism of the Middle Ages.

Within the limits of such a style as this progress seems possible; and if it is, the problem is of easy solution. It does not require a man or set of men, as some have supposed, to invent a new style; the great want now is self-control and self-negation. What we require is that architects shall have the moral courage to refrain from borrowing, and be content to think, to work, and to improve bit by bit what they have got. If some artistic Chancellor of the Exchequer would only lay a heavy tax on every Classic column erected after this date, and assess equally every mullioned window or every Gothic pinnacle employed in future buildings, we should soon arrive at a better state of things.

The demand, however, must arise with the public, and cannot come from the profession. We have no right to ask that an architect shall starve because he refuses to erect Gothic churches, Grecian temples, or Chinese summer-houses, feeling that he can do better. The public must say to those it employs, You shall arrange your design according to the dictates of common sense, you shall elaborate it by thought, and you shall apply ornament with taste to what you have thus worked out; but beyond these three postulates you shall not go. When this is done we shall again know what the art means. If we ask for anything else, we may get something which may be very beautiful, but it will not be Architecture.

The real question lies somewhat deeper. Are we prepared to give up the idea that we are, or may be, intellectual Greeks or world-conquering Romans? are we ready to abandon the feeling that we are powerful Mediæval priests or chivalrous knights-errant? are we, in fact, prepared to forego all our dreams of the past, and be content to acknowledge ourselves as only human beings living in the latter half of the nineteenth century, looking forward to and hoping

in the future? We have done so in Literature; we are doing this in Painting; Sculpture seems tending towards the same course, and why not Architecture? More than this, the principles of common sense have been adopted by the engineers, who form one-half of the building profession. They are too young as a body, and have as yet had too little time to think, to know exactly what course they intend in future to pursue; but when once they have leisure and organisation it remains to be seen whether they will have sufficient influence to force the architects to adopt their principles, or whether the vanity of imitating the older and more artistic branch of their profession may not induce them to rest content with their lazy but aristocratic system of copying. Fine Art is a hard task-mistress, and to obtain her rewards men must work, and think, and exercise infinite self-control. False Art is an easy, smiling dame, whose favours are readily dispensed, but worthless when obtained. There is, in fact, no difficulty in finding the path by which perfection may be attained: the one question is, Have we the courage to choose it, and, having chosen, have we the perseverance necessary to reach the goal?

Although Architecture never was in so false a position in this country since the Reformation as it is at this moment, or practised on such entirely mistaken principles, still there are signs that encourage a hope that better days are dawning and may again brighten into sunshine. At no period during the last three centuries have the public taken the same interest in Architectural Art or felt so much desire to enjoy its beauties. As a body the Architects of this country have never been so numerous, so well instructed, or so earnest in the exercise of their vocation as at present, while recent experience is not likely to encourage the employment of amateurs who fancy they can learn all the secrets of the art without work, and who are ready to design anything without bestowing upon it even the most moderate modicum of thought.

What is wanted to ensure progress towards perfection is, first, that we shall have a public with feeling enough for the art to desire it, and with knowledge sufficient to judge of what is good and beautiful; a body of architects so intelligent as to be able to grasp the conditions of the problem, and with taste enough to design the requisite forms of expression; a class of builders with skill to arrange and energy to carry out what has been so designed; and, more perhaps than any of these, a class of art workmen so instructed and so expert that they shall be able to understand the work they have in hand, and so skilled as to be able to execute it thoughtfully and well. Many of these elements we already possess, and are progressing towards the attainment of the rest. But even all these will be of no avail unless every class is thoroughly imbued with a conviction that Architecture is neither more nor less than a true

and progressive development of a useful art into a fine art, but which can never throw off its connection with its parent, nor can ever be practised on any other principles than those which alone have led to the elaboration of other useful arts into their æsthetic developments.

In addition to this, it is indispensable that the public mind should be thoroughly disabused of the idea that Archæology is Architecture, or has, in fact, any direct connection with it. It never was so when Art was a living thing, and there is no logical reason why it should be so now. Once this error is exploded, and we really set in earnest to elaborate Building with truth into Architecture, there seems no reason why we should not surpass all that has been done up to this time. We have more wealth, more mechanical skill, more refinement than any nation, except perhaps the Greeks, and taste (even if not innate) may result from the immense extent of our knowledge.

APPENDIX.

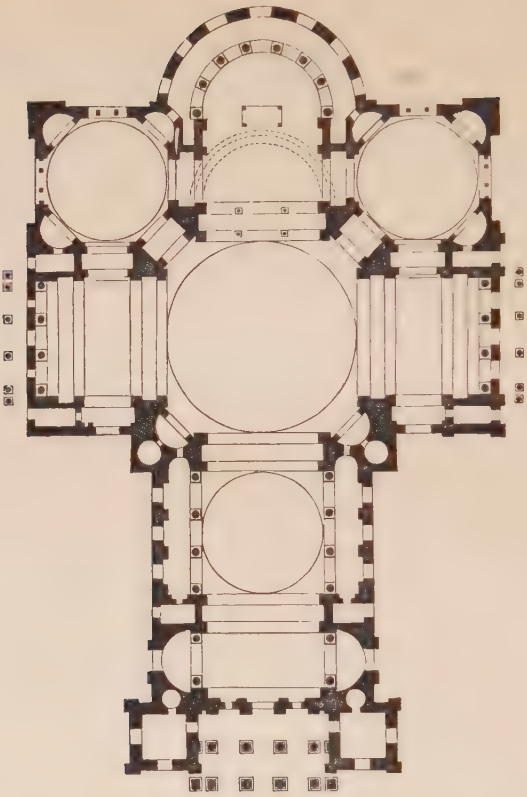
So much space has been occupied in the preceding pages by remarks on the Pointed class of churches [illegible] that it may be worth while, and certainly will add to the clearness and intelligibility of what has been said, to try if by a series of diagrams I can explain more clearly the conclusions I have arrived at on this subject. I do this the more willingly because, if the principles which are enunciated in the preceding pages are correct, Architecture is a progressive art, in the practice of which—as in scientific research—any one may start forward from all that has been acquired up to his day; and, basing his judgments on all previous knowledge, he ought to be able to see how forward progress may be made, and former faults avoided if called upon to design [illegible]. In the case of any one being called upon to criticise a poem, or any work of phonetic art, the case is widely different. It is by no means necessary that a man should be a poet, or to prove that he could do better, before expressing an opinion regarding any poetical work. An amateur may be an exquisite judge of paintings who never handled a brush: and it does not require that a man should ever even have attempted to model, in order that he may be able to appreciate the merits or point out the defects of a statue. These are all works depending on individual talents and idiosyncrasies—rays of truth and light proceeding from one brain and dying with it. But Architecture stands on a totally different footing. It is a progressive [illegible] art, [illegible] when practised as a true art, by a definite and well-understood path. It thus requires no great amount of talent, nor even any extensive knowledge of the subject, when a building is finished, for any one to point out its faults of proportion, or its errors of detail. Almost any one, consequently, if instructed to erect a similar building for the same purposes with similar materials, ought to be able to do better than his [illegible] if [illegible] takes. Indeed there are few architects who, when their buildings are finished, would not like to begin them again. When erected, they see things that did not occur to them before, and which they would like to alter if it were not too late. When this art is practised on true prin-

ciples, each man only tries to avoid the errors of his predecessors, and to improve on their successes. It was this easy task that brought architecture to perfection wherever it succeeded ; and, when looked at from this progressive point of view, it renders the task of the critic easy and his judgment clear.

There are of course some buildings, such as the Parthenon at Athens or the Hypostyle Hall at Karnac, regarding which it is impossible to see how they could be improved. In their especial direction, progress beyond them seems to us impossible. Westminster Abbey and St. Ouen, Rouen, and some few other Gothic churches, seem also beyond improvement. So do many Indian buildings in their own line ; but it requires no great knowledge of the subject to see how most of our Gothic cathedrals and churches might have been better had they adopted forms or details which were used elsewhere, but which they either neglected or misapplied. Be all this as it may, no one will probably deny that the class of churches of which we are now speaking is one very open to criticism. They were invented in a bad age, and though there is progress among them, the school to which they belong never understood the steady, self-denying principles of progress which brought the Pointed styles to such a high degree of perfection. Each architect considered himself as a creator or inventor, like a poet or a painter, and as entitled to indulge in his individual fancies ; and as his style to a great extent was created by himself, so also it consequently died with him. Still there was progress, as for instance between the exterior of St. Peter's and that of St. Paul's, and between the interior of the last-named church and the interior of the Pantheon at Paris ; and gathering instruction from all that has gone before, it does not seem difficult to arrange a plan which shall combine most of the merits while avoiding most of the errors of the churches which have been erected. At all events the annexed plan and section, whether they succeed in this or not, suffice to explain the conclusions on this subject which have been arrived at in consequence of the investigations which this treatise has forced upon its author.

In the annexed diagrams the dome is drawn with a diameter of 100 ft., and as 164 ft. high internally. The nave, transepts and choir are 60 ft. wide by 100 ft. high, and the three subordinate domes are each 64 ft. diameter. The total length of the church over all outside is 400 ft. east and west by 240 ft. across the transepts.

Comparing these dimensions with those of St. Paul's, we find it is one-fifth less in length—400 ft. as against 500. The breadth is about the same, but the whole area covered is also one-fifth less—67,000 ft. against 84,000 ft. Yet with this reduction it is fully one-half larger internally for all state or liturgical purposes, for the simple reason that

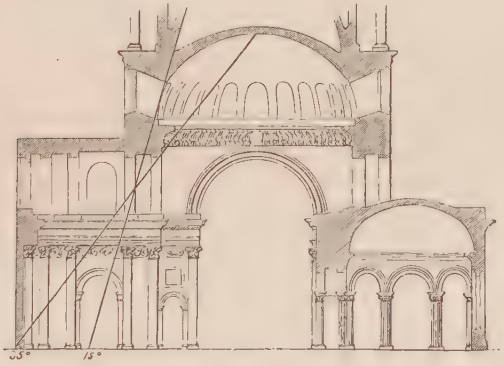


330. Diagram Plan of Latin Cathedral arrangements. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

the nave, choir, and transepts are all more than 60 ft. wide compared with 40 in the present church. If the dome in the diagram were increased to the 108 ft. of St. Paul's, and all the other parts proportionately extended, the total length would be 432 ft.; the width of nave, &c., 65 ft., and of the subsidiary domes and semi-dome, 70 ft. With these dimensions it would accommodate on its floor a congregation greater by two-thirds than the present church will contain, though remaining one-sixth less in dimensions. In other words, if the present church will accommodate, say 10,000 persons, that shown in the diagrams would equally well accommodate 15,000, and, with an increase of 8 per cent. in its dimensions, 17,000 at least. This would not be an unmitigated benefit if it were accompanied by any increased difficulty in seeing or hearing. But the contrary is the case. The space under the dome would be the same, and that is as far as the human voice can reach in preaching; but there are great festal occasions when in a metropolitan cathedral it is most desirable to accommodate a greater

number than can be reached by a single human voice in speaking. In some cases it is almost enough if those present see what is going on, and they always can be reached by choral services and music of a certain class. Whether lowering the dome 50 ft. would or would not have any effect on the human voice is not quite clear. If it had any, it must be in a beneficial direction.

It could not either be considered a benefit if the additional spaciousness were attained by any loss of artistic effect ; but it is evident that the result would be quite the contrary. Instead of being, as remarked before, three rooms with no definite harmony of proportion between them, there is no part in this building where the rest of it cannot be fairly seen, and no part which is so large or so high as to overpower and crush any other. It might be made more uniform and room-like by closing the openings through the four great piers, and so diminishing



331. Diagram Section of Latin Cathedral arrangements. Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

their area. If this were done, the nave and transepts might have an opening of 70 or 75 ft. to a dome of 100 ft. But this result would be gained at the expense of the long-drawn perspective, and of much of the variety and light and shade which the present arrangement combines. Were this done, it would require the subordinate domes to be increased to 75 or 80 ft., and in that case there would cease to be sufficient gradation between the great central dome and the subordinate domes.

Comparing the proposed church with Sta. Sophia at Constantinople, which, so far as is known, is the most perfect interior of a Christian church yet erected anywhere, it will be observed that their domes are of exactly the same relative height and proportion, and they are lighted in the same way. The one question therefore is, Are two semi-domes of the same diameter as the great dome the best mode of joining the great dome to the rest of the church ; or is the Latin mode better, of having

the other parts covered with waggon-vaults leading up to the central dome in every direction?

On the whole it does not appear to me open to doubt but that the Latin mode is the most perfect, if properly carried out, but no perfectly successful example has yet been executed. In most cases the whole is thrown out of harmony by the excessive height of the dome internally. In Sta. Sophia alone is this perfect, and its proportion has consequently been adopted in the diagram. Its apex can be seen from almost every part of the church, and under an angle of 35° to the vertical. St. Paul's is practically a room twice as high as it is wide, and to see its apex you are obliged to look upwards at an angle of 20°, which is intolerable. The dome at Washington is a funnel, and its apex can only be seen at an angle of 14° from the vertical. A dome a little lower than even Sta. Sophia might perhaps be better, but it would be difficult to bring it down without disturbing its relative proportion to the other parts. Where a proper proportion is maintained, height in itself is one of the most important elements of effect, and ought never to be neglected except when out of harmony with the other parts of the building.

The main proportions of the subordinate parts at St. Peter's are nearly the same as those adopted in the diagram, but at Rome they are crushed by the disproportionate altitude of the dome; and in plan, too, it certainly is a mistake to make the choir and transepts absolutely identical, both in plan and detail. The choir, as the most sacred part of the church, ought to be the most dignified, both in plan and decoration. Either it ought to extend eastward in the relative proportion shown in the diagram, or if you choose to consider the space under the dome as your choir, then it ought to terminate in an apse, as shown in the dotted lines. Another defect in the plan of St. Peter's is, that the great aisle that surrounds the dome is the same on all sides, and consequently, though beautiful in itself, it wants meaning. The two domes on each side of the choir give it dignity, and are large enough to be auxiliary chapels, with their altars looking the same way as the great altar, but the two on each side of the nave are not wanted. If they had altars, they must look towards the door, and they rather confuse than help the perspective of the nave. These defects in St. Peter's are sought to be avoided in the plan under discussion. In it the side chapels of the choir not only give dignity to the east end, and infinite variety of perspective, but they would be found of great value as morning or ceremonial chapels. It is one of the great defects of St. Paul's that the side aisles, especially of the choir, are practically useless, and that the only chapels there are two small ones 25 ft. by 50, at the west end, where they are not wanted.

If these two side chapels were omitted, the building might be further reduced without its harmony being disturbed by bringing for-

ward the apse to the position shown by the dotted lines, though then a different liturgical arrangement would of course be necessary. Other alterations might also be introduced to suit particular circumstances, but my impression is that unless something very like the proportion of parts indicated in these diagrams is maintained, success is not attainable in churches of this class or style of architecture.

In conclusion, I may add that, were I making the design for a church, I would not have employed one great Order—internally at least. I would have divided the interior into two storeys of arcades, or, to use the language of Gothic architecture, have introduced great triforia everywhere ; and I would be very sparing of columns outside, if I used them at all. The plan and section here given are not meant as things that ought to be, or could be executed, but as diagrams to explain criticisms on churches which, with scarcely an exception, use a single range of pillars internally, and in almost all cases of the Corinthian order.

I have not even attempted to design the dome, but assumed that it would, externally at least, be like that of St. Paul's—the most beautiful yet executed ; but I may remark that, by the mode of construction adopted, it would be easy to raise a cone of any height or strength to support a lantern of any required weight without at all interfering with any ornamental forms or features. The angle of the cone in this instance would be only 15° to the vertical. Wren's is 25°, and rests on another with a slope of 5°, so as altogether to make a clumsy, broken sort of construction. With a cone of 15° as a core, my conviction is that it would be easy, with vertical ribs, to build a brick dome of any required form, and if this were covered with good Portland cement it would be as durable as stone, and, from the absence of joints, a cement covering, in this situation, would be more appropriate than one of stone.[1]

Of course it would be absurd during the prevalence of the present Gothic mania to ask the good people of Edinburgh, who are about to build themselves a cathedral, or those of Liverpool, who are thinking of so doing, whether such a church as this might not suit them as well as a Gothic one. It would be in vain to urge that it would be more spacious relatively to its area, more suited for congregational purposes from the absence of pillars, more elegant from the purity of its details, more cheerful, and altogether more appropriate to the nineteenth

[1] If the good people of Florence really wished to complete their cathedral and adorn their city, the best thing they could do would be to strip the wretched covering of tiles off the dome of their cathedral, and replace them by a covering of cement. If it were possible to find any one with taste enough to panel it in coloured cement, not in imitation of, but in harmony with, the lower part, the exterior of the building might yet be made as beautiful as it was originally designed by Arnolpho, in spite of the crushing disfigurement of Brunelleschi's dome.

century and its wants. It may or might be all this, and more, but it is not what the clergy want, so it is no use arguing the question. But it is not the same at Berlin, where they are not, yet at least, so steeped in Mediævalism as we are. They want a cathedral there, and have hitherto been most unsuccessful in their designs. Might it not be well for them to turn their attention to elaborating, out of the fulness of their knowledge, such a design as this? If they did it honestly and earnestly, and with sufficient self-denial, I feel convinced they might produce a more beautiful building than any of its class that now adorns any capital in Europe.

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